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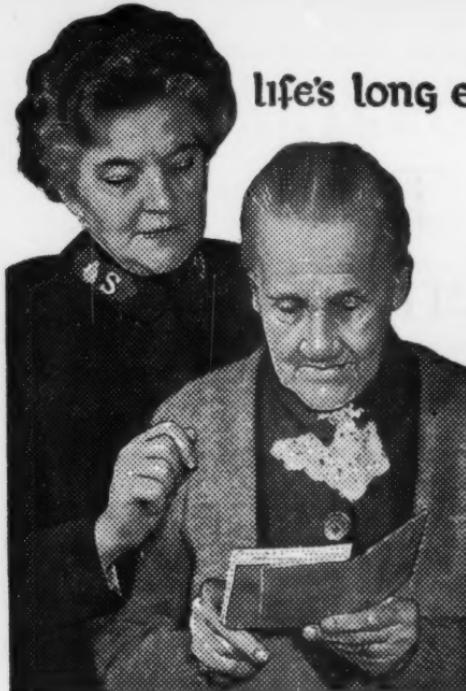
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SOUTH AND CENTRAL AFRICAN COMMENTARY

THE 'wind of change blowing over Africa,' Mr Macmillan's much quoted aphorism, is true in most of its aspects except in that hard-boiled policy, apparently held by Mr Macmillan himself and the British government, of rapid and immediate expansion of native suffrage with the inevitable result of black domination.

In March the visits of Messrs Macmillan and Macleod to South and Central Africa gained the approval of opinion in England, but in Africa had exactly the contrary effect to what they must themselves have expected, for they stiffened immensely the determination of white Africa to obtain freedom from Whitehall, from interference in their internal affairs and to continue to hold the prosperity that they and their fathers had created out of nothing. Mr Macleod's Kenya policy still further convinced them that a similar fate should not engulf them.

It would seem that a blindness has fallen on many people in England, both of the left and the right, so that they can no longer be guided by the principles that made Britain great and respected in the past, but are wedded to the new and specious values of universal suffrage and world opinion or popularity. It is a common attitude of mind to beg the question by stating that a certain policy is 'inevitable' or is failing to consider modern trends instead of considering whether it is right or wrong or to the benefit of mankind.

The year 1960 is teeming with importance for the Union of South Africa, the Federation and the remains of the British Empire that are being so hastily given an independence to misgovern themselves in the name of freedom, universal suffrage and democracy, which has so far meant the establishment of black dictatorship, tyranny, and corruption. This article is not concerned with other territories but is confined to the Union and the Federation, in both of which important events, with vast importance to their futures, are taking

This article was written in May/June last before the more recent happenings in the Congo and elsewhere but its accuracy of observation and that of previous articles in the *Quarterly* is being proved almost daily by subsequent events. [Ed.]

place. The Union, already firmly set on the road of separate development of European and Bantu, is about to challenge opinion with a referendum as to whether their future is to be monarchy or republic, while the Federation is torn with the conflicting opinions as to its future held by Whitehall on the one side and by the resident populations and their governments on the other. The Monckton Commission will give its report and at the end of the year there will be a conference in London on proposed reforms.

The rudderless condition of some of the British policies, as seen from abroad, has had various illustrations in Africa. We have one illustration in the debate in the House of Lords on Kenya on March 28 when we saw the Conservative government's policy of the betrayal of Kenya opposed by Conservative peers, led by Lord Salisbury, and supported by the Labour peers. Then one department of the government appointed the Monckton Commission to study the conditions in the Federation, while another department hastily set about frustrating the Commission's objects by giving Kenya over to black domination and freeing Dr Banda, on whose continued detention depended law and order in Nyasaland and the safety and the lives of its inhabitants.

The control of expressed African opinion by the Bandas, Mboyas, and Kaundas is evidenced by violence, arson, and intimidation, but only these revolutionaries and not the well-intentioned Africans are consulted and listened to in England. There can be small doubt that the bulk of the Bantu peoples in South and Central Africa are still contented and peaceful, but only the rabble-rousers get the ear of British press and politicians. These Bandas, Mboyas, and their like openly demand that the European shall 'scram out of Africa,' to use Mboya's expression, but they possess almost exclusively the ear of England and the U.S.A.

The Monckton Commission is asked to advise governments on the constitution with a view to furthering the objects set forth in the Federal constitution and its preamble, of which the intention is in essence and expression to conduce to the security, welfare, and advancement of all the people. There is no dispute between any of the parties that these are their objects but a vast difference as to how they can be achieved.

The British government appears to believe that they can be obtained by a rapidly expanding suffrage and the predominance of

the supposed interests of the Bantu over those of the European inhabitants and their present governments, who in their turn are certain that the Bantu are as yet far removed from any ability to govern and convinced by history, knowledge, and experience that native rule would mean chaos and the loss for themselves of all that belongs to them, which they themselves have developed out of waste land and savagery, and would bring the certain return to that savagery and to Communism.

In the Federation the first of the above objects, security of the inhabitants, has been long established in self-governing Southern Rhodesia and was preserved in time by last year's emergency measures against the intimidation and violence of the African National Congress. In Northern Rhodesia under the Colonial Office the requisite measures were not taken in time and security is not safe, as is being amply proved.

As regards the welfare and the advancement of the Bantu, there has been continual progress in the Union and the Federation throughout the years, but recently security measures have been thwarted by intimidation, boycotts, and terror imposed on the docile masses of the Bantu by the African National Congress, which contains the agitators and rabble-rousers and is organized and instructed under Communist tutelage, as both Union and Federation security forces are aware.

The action of Mr Macleod in April in getting Dr Banda released and giving him preferential treatment over other detainees, against the expressed wishes of four of the five governments concerned in the Federation, almost appeared to forestall the Monckton Commission, at that very moment sitting in Blantyre investigating the future constitution of the Federation. Mr Macleod, unless he was deceiving Dr Banda and his followers—a very dangerous proceeding for the lives of Nyasalanders—gave them to understand, according to press reports, that he intended to give Dr Banda what he asked.

What are Dr Banda's and his Malawi Party's demands? According to press reports they have been identical both before and after the emergency measures and his detention, and comprise the secession of Nyasaland from the Federation, a legislative council of 40 members, of whom 32 are Bantu and an immediate Bantu majority in the Executive Council.

This increases immeasurably the mistrust of Rhodesians, and a leading article in the *Sunday Mail* of Salisbury even considered the action to be 'an open invitation to revolt.'

To consider the discrimination and segregation in South and Central Africa as based on colour alone is an untruth and a hypocrisy. Almost all people are favourably disposed to the Bantu and desire his advancement, but his mental qualities, character, and habits, of which the colour of his skin is but a symbol, provide the necessity for discrimination and are his bar to advancement. Though mistakes and some injustices have been made, there is no oppression or suppression of the Bantu, for whom everything is provided by the European (wages, education, religion, and health welfare), but who at present contribute nothing but the labour for which they are paid. If it were not for the European, the Bantu would have none of these things.

Main obstacles to political and social integration of races are the fear of the white citizens of racial intermarriage on a large scale and a prevalent human instinct that makes cohabitation of black and white repulsive to the majorities of both. Who can be bold enough to declare that such instincts are not part of our nature and implanted by God? There is nothing contrary to charity in the desire of people to mix socially and to intermarry with their similars, and the contrary idea conflicts with the sciences of heredity, breeding and genetics, and the experience of history.

To force integration on peoples by legislation and to oblige parents to send their children to school with people whom they consider unsuitable is a tergiversation of freedom and will always be resisted by free people. It is an established fact that miscegenation means mongrels—and mongrelization means degeneracy. Promiscuous copulation and venereal disease are features of integrated schools in the U.S.A., and that cannot be desired.

It is rather remarkable that many peoples, and among them people who are not ignorant of history and the benefits given to the populations of the world by British imperial and colonial rule, are prepared to contemplate with equanimity, or even pleasure, the abandonment of Africa by the Europeans under the cowardly and fatuous thesis that 'it is inevitable.'

Some of these defeatists appear to believe that such an abandonment will be to the welfare of the native peoples, though they can

give no example to support their expectations. The longest experiment has been the American one of Liberia, and the most recent that of Ghana, with the inevitable result not of democracy but of tyranny by oligarchies, violence, and corruption.

The illusion of many 'do-gooders' is fostered by their meeting almost exclusively the well-spoken and well-dressed educated Bantu minority with ability to pass examinations and qualify for the professions. It is therefore supposed that elementary education will soon fit the mass of the people for democracy, whereas their tradition and unchangeable practice is to rule by coercion, intimidation, and force—and not by reason. Rational democratic procedure means nothing to them. In the Union of South Africa there was a choice between two paths: one a multiracial administration of the country, with all its basic implications of equality and eventual miscegenation; and the other, separate development of Bantu and European. There appeared to be no other alternative nor was a compromise between the two possible.

A certain section of the people seems to have forgotten that the success of the British in the past was that they opposed racial intermixture with dissimilar peoples and thus preserved their integrity of character. In Africa British governments consistently maintained a pattern of segregation.

The Union of South Africa has decided which path to take, for the majority have decided that they wish it to be a homeland for white people, and that, if control were to pass into the hands of the uncivilized Bantu majority, they could only remain as white expatriates.

The eclectic character of British sympathy (or is it possibly propagandist hypocrisy?) is very evident in its different treatment of Ghana and South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Ghana's government can imprison indefinitely Opposition members and anyone breathing dissent, without hope of hearings, trials, or any such reactionary ideas, and there is no breath of disapproval to be heard. But, when the South African government and the Rhodesian Federation detain people accused of treason and prospective rioting with both hearings, trials, and defence, a massive shouting and protest is heard from do-gooders and others, money is collected by societies and clerics and half-page appeals are published under distinguished names in prominent British papers.

A disturbing element, tending to foment racial antagonisms not only between white and black but between whites, has been the activities and words of what for want of a better word may be called politico-clericals. The religious persuasions whose clergy have been most notable in this respect have been the Churches of England and Scotland and very occasionally a Roman Catholic; they appear to be inspired by an over-emphasis on the equality of man in the sense held by the French revolutionaries, which is certainly contrary to Christian teaching both of Old and New Testaments, and to have forgotten the teachings of the necessary discrimination between the things of God and of Caesar and obedience to authority. The Calvinist Reformed Dutch Church has been condemned by the politico-clerics as unchristian, which tends to revive Anglo-Boer animosities at a time when they were lessening. His revolutionary attitude towards the government of the country, whose hospitality he enjoys, by the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, has had a notable but natural effect in fomenting the traditional animosities between Boer and British when they were on the wane.

It is an interesting feature that left-wing peoples both in South Africa and the Federation have sought to appropriate to themselves the names of liberal and Christian entirely contrary to the true meaning of one and the gospel teaching of the other.

It is an amazing pretension of the integrationists that they speak for Christianity and say that social segregation is unchristian, when there is no single statement in the Bible to support the contention and social segregation of races is implicit in both the Old and New Testaments and exists in the natural order in God's creation among races and animals. Yet this astonishing pretension is professed by ministers of various Christian sects. They have become confused between the true doctrines of the love of neighbours and of the equality of treatment of man by God and the law and the illusion of the equality of men.

People in South and Central Africa felt that Mr Macmillan in his speeches and policies was treating the white man in Africa very unfairly, so as to steal the thunder of the British Labour Party in England.

In Africa Mr Macmillan gave no encouragement to the European citizens of South Africa, to whose industry, enterprise, and charity

the present happiness and prosperity of the native is due, but on his return to England he threw emphasis on the side of the European rights in Africa. This left people confused as to what was the colonial policy of the Government.

Some extracts from Dr Verwoerd's answer to Mr Macmillan's speech in the South African Parliament are worthy of quotation.

'There must be justice to the black man in Africa but also to the white man.'

'The survival of Western ideas, of Western civilization, throwing in your weight on the side of the Western nations—we are with you there.'

'We are the link [between black and white states in Africa]. We are white, but we are in Africa. We link with both, and that lays upon us a special duty, and I wish to assure you that in the Christian philosophy which you endorse we find a philosophy which we too wish to follow.'

Running through all the problems in Central and South Africa is the question of native advancement—political, industrial, and social—and of the rapidity at which it can be carried out without danger for Europeans and Bantu. The governments both of the Union and the Federation have shown by their legislation and educational and agricultural policies the desire to advance the Bantu, and that is also the desire and intention of fair-thinking European people of all parties living in those countries, but its rapidity and the ability of the Bantu to absorb it and the confusion between its political, industrial, and social aspects have caused a variety of opinions and parties. The majority party in the Union thinks that their policy of separate development will eliminate for the time being the political and social conflicts, while the Rhodesian parties, divided as to the rapidity of advancement, believe that the doctrine of partnership can solve and control the question. The general Rhodesian idea of partnership implies a modified segregation and white supremacy, but there are powerful forces at work, even within the Federation, desiring or considering inevitable a Bantu domination.

In April the long-drawn-out conflict between the trades unions, the railway management, and the governments of the Rhodesias came to an end under the direction of the National Industrial Council with agreement on the basis of fragmentation of jobs, equal

pay for equal work, apprenticeship, and no racial bias in promotion. As the railways are the largest employers of labour, this may mean the official end of colour bar in labour, though doubtless the employer will continue to employ white labour in the higher grades on account of its superiority over black labour, and the tendency in the lower grades will be for the black to replace the white. Similar tendencies are taking place in the copperbelt and in industries.

If Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead find it impossible to get the Colonial Office to give them freedom within the Federation to the Rhodesias and Nyasaland in the constitutional discussions this year, there will be an impasse of considerable difficulty. Both Prime Ministers, with an almost unanimous vote behind them in their respective chambers, have declared their intention to become free of Colonial Office control.

So there has been talk of secession from the Federation if the Prime Ministers fail. The Bantu agitators, such as Banda, Nkomo, and Kaunda, will have nothing to do with Federation and demand the secession of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, while some Southern Rhodesian politicians demand secession if they cannot be freed from Whitehall.

These are all features in the puzzle of the Federation which the Monckton Commission has set out to put together. Only after the report will it be possible to hold the Federal constitutional talks.

There has been so much hate and abuse of South Africa expressed by world opinion in the world's press that ignorance as to the meaning and intentions of the Government's policy of separate development and segregation is not surprising. A reading of Dr Verwoerd's speech in the House of Assembly in March gives the essence of that policy.

He declared that the West was adopting an appeasement policy:

'which left the white man in Africa in the lurch and would lead to chaos and a return to heathenism. South Africa wanted to grant the black masses their own rights in their own states, but that they must not allow the psychosis of minimizing the importance of the white man and only recognizing the black to dominate us.'

He said that there is to-day between the West and Communism a perpetual outbidding for the new states, and, when these have obtained all they can get, they will boast that they are neutral and

the West will have lost both respect and country. In saving the black masses from white control black dictatorships arise.

'We suggest that continuation of the principles and methods we have adopted thus far. Wherever suitable a white state should be established or remain in existence.... Black neighbour states must come into being and the permanent co-existence of both is essential.'

The white man in Africa refuses to believe that only numbers count, because he knows from centuries of experience that it is not so. During the past 400 years the whites in the world have always been in the minority but have played a dominant role, as they are doing to-day, by reason of their character and inherent qualities.

'As far as South Africa is concerned our problem remains the problem of ensuring the survival of the white race here and at the same time doing justice to the non-whites.'

Now that is the meaning of apartheid with co-existence from the highest authority in South Africa, and it is increasingly apparent, since Mr Macmillan's visit, that it is not only the policy of the government but also of the oppositions, with perhaps the exception of the 'liberals' and the politico-clericals.

There are, however, disquieting elements in the practice of apartheid or separate development which at present must qualify the theory as set forth officially by Dr Verwoerd. Segregation or apartheid as between European and Bantu is approved as a sound policy by the great majority of Europeans and Bantu, but the present Nationalist government appears to wish to extend it to segregation between those of British and Boer descent and has separated both schools and units of the defence forces into language groups. This is very dangerous when the desire of all well-intentioned people should be to weld all into one South African nation, as Botha, Hertzog, and Smuts desired. It also comes at a time when the historical animosities between Briton and Boer were gradually decreasing. This old animosity has been enormously revived by the continual unjust and acrid criticism and misrepresentation by the British press and people and by the bitter criticism of British politico-clericals of the highest category.

It is an increasing belief that the people of European descent must find unity by the force of circumstances to enable them to establish white security and western civilization, and both white

and black must come to an understanding that each has his own development unless they wish to face Communism, whose agents and affiliated organizations are active throughout Africa.

There is, in connection with the determination to be independent and to hold what is theirs, a change in the devotion and loyalty to Great Britain that has been a notable feature of Rhodesia, a feeling of dissatisfaction with England and, in many cases, expressions of violent antagonism. The Rhodesian asks, why cannot the British be loyal to those who are loyal to them?

But, judging from the popularity of the gracious Queen Mother in May on her tour of the Federation and opening of the Kariba dam, the dissatisfaction with Whitehall has not so far affected the ingrained British loyalty to Crown and Royal Family. Loyal enthusiasm was expressed on all sides by both Europeans and Bantu and Her Majesty's speeches, charm, and example of service were an inspiration to all.

The basis of protectorates in Africa was the promise of former British governments to tribal chiefs to protect them against the aggression of powers and peoples. The present British government should produce for verification and scrutiny those agreements made in respect of territories within the Federation and study the feasibility of transferring their obligations to the governments to whom they have already in great part entrusted the protectorates. The policy of protectorates and native reserves is in essence segregation or apartheid.

It is a complete illusion to think of one African nationalism. There is no such thing, but there are hundreds of tribes most of them hostile to each other and saved from perpetual warfare only by European colonialism. Mr Lewanika, a Bantu member of the Federal Parliament, said recently: 'The gulf between tribes is wider than the gulf between races.'

An illustration, if one is needed, that Africa has advanced farthest in the areas where there are most Europeans, and is probably quite unable to progress without their guiding hand, is seen in the Union. That country is the wealthiest in Africa with the best agriculture, mines, railways, manufactures, medical services, and education. All these things are the natural products of good government, law, and order, but cannot precede or create them.

An exceedingly unjust and senseless campaign of abuse of the

Union, and in a lesser degree of Rhodesia, is taking place in the United Nations and in many countries of the world. Here we have two countries well governed and prosperous, where stable conditions of law, order, and justice exist and there is no oppression or repression in the sense that these evils are practised in other countries that are prominent members of the United Nations, and they are persecuted or boycotted by their fellow members and by what is called 'world opinion.'

The situation is so identical with that of Spain after their civil war that a comparison may help to explain its causes and procedures and its possible results. Spain, having defeated the attack of Russian and international Communism in a bloody war, called a civil war, was thereupon boycotted and ostracized for fifteen years by the U.N. and many nations; she steadily refused, though in great necessity of foreign aid, to modify at foreign dictation her regime, doctrines, and beliefs and has remained a strong, prosperous, and well-governed country, remaining one of the spear-points of Christianity and anti-Communism. The truth and justice of her cause prevailed against a directed world and U.N. opinion. She is to-day prosperous, well armed and a chief bastion of Christian western civilization, of which the Union and Rhodesia are the last and only bastions in Africa. It is possible that they may share the experience of Spain.

What is this so very powerful 'world opinion' that is enlisted against the Union of South Africa? It would be difficult and long to make an analysis, but some of its foundations can be seen. Perhaps the first of these is the doctrine of Marxian socialism, its class warfare and hatred of Christianity, which have with a devilish but highly efficient propaganda saturated the whole world for forty years. It is that efficient cold warfare that has captured the left-wing people, the news services, and the greater part of the press of the world.

Another foundation is the wave of change and inferiority that has come upon the great colonizing powers, making them withdraw precipitately the guiding hands that have proved to be so necessary for the disordered and savage peoples to whom they had brought civilization. To this may be added the enormous weight of U.S.A. opinion and anti-colonial prejudice. There are many other factors, but these are the chief ones.

A feature of world opinion at the moment is its unjust abuse of the European living in Africa, while it is indifferent to or only mildly critical of true tyranny and bloodshed in the rest of the world. The deaths in riots of 72 people in South Africa and 50 in Nyasaland earn bigger headlines and wider denunciation than thousands shot in Budapest or tens of thousands killed in Tibet, or the massacre and imprisonment of thousands of Christians in China, or the massacres by Castro in Cuba.

This unjust persecution of South Africa by this world opinion dictated through the press, the U.N., and Moscow was startlingly illustrated by the abuse and misrepresentation about the mob riots and consequent shootings in the Union in March. This, shortly, is what occurred.

In January at Cato Manor a number of policemen were murdered and mutilated by a mob incited by Pan African Congress¹ agitators.

In March at Sharpeville a mob of 20,000 Bantu under the same incitement, armed with assorted weapons, surrounded and attacked the police station and were fired on by the police force, which numbered 137 men, and an uncertified number of Bantu were shot, after a tear-gas attack had failed.

About the same time a similar mob, similarly incited, of 10,000 Bantu attacked the 90 police and the police station at Langa and were treated in the same fashion. Seven buildings and a Church of England school were destroyed by fire.

World press opinion, without waiting for authenticated reports, indulged in high moral indignation against and abuse of the white man in South Africa, without any mention of the fact that police were entitled to defend themselves and it was their duty to maintain law and order and prevent the massacre of themselves and others.

There was complete evidence that the extremists of the Pan African Congress used threats and intimidation of death to get the support of peaceful Bantu in these riots and keep them from their work. This feature was also neglected by world opinion.

The judicial Southworth report on the so-called riot in Nyasaland on Mr Macmillan's tour has sufficiently discredited the value of most of the Fleet Street reporting, and further discredit will probably

¹ Successor to African National Congress.

accrue when the judicial report on Sharpeville and Langa is produced.

Boycott, demonstrations in Trafalgar Square, letters and articles in the press demanding censure on South Africa are the rule of the day in England, while for every African shot or having his toe trodden on by the police while maintaining law and order, thousands of Christians in Communist countries are subject to persecution, prison, and death; populations are mercilessly transferred in India; massacres take place in Cuba, and there is a long tale of massacre and of brutal oppression in other parts of the world. But on those accounts no boycotts and demonstrations are suggested. What is the reason for this unfairness?

The U.S.A., through government service, foundations, and societies such as the American-Africa Committee, is making a deliberate attempt to contact and influence those whom they consider likely to be the African leaders, but who are in general the subversives and rabble-rousers. They are consequently on the same side of the table in Africa as Communism, while the official U.S.A. policy elsewhere is still expressly anti-Communist.

Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said in Parliament in March, in answer to an Opposition motion on secession, that the safety and integrity of Southern Rhodesia must be preserved at all costs, and he appealed to Parliament not to desert Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the 80,000 Europeans there without putting up a fight. He said he had already made it clear to British ministers that, while Southern Rhodesia was anxious to co-operate to get its independence by negotiation and reasoning and to keep the Federation in being, there are certain things they would never agree to. 'We are not going to give our birthright away,' he said.

In March-April the growing feeling among the Europeans in the Rhodesias that their very existence and future were in grave danger from the British government policies, so clearly enunciated in the press and Parliament of the United Kingdom, that associations were formed in both territories to appeal to all parties of the European population to cease party strife in the matter of the constitution and present a solid front in the coming discussions. This would double the negotiating power of the Rhodesias and is most essential.

Attention has often been called to what may be classified as the

eclectic altruism of the British press and public. It has often seemed as if the charity of England towards Africa had a colour bar, seeing only good in a black skin and evil in the white. This cannot be attributed entirely to ignorance of historical and factual realities, but must be in part due to the conductor's baton in the cold war and left-wing orchestra that plays the discords of racial hatreds. It is not difficult to spot who or what is the conductor.

There have been several recent instances of this eclectic charity—perhaps the most outstanding of them, the hysterical chorus for the release of Dr Banda and the detainees of the African National Congress, whose imprisonment in March 1959 forestalled a rising in Nyasaland and the Rhodesias, which could have developed into another Mau Mau rising. The necessity for the continuation of detention was proved beyond doubt when the music was at its height by the intimidation of a Bantu member of the Legislative Council of Nyasaland. He was the Rev. A. D. Kayira, whose house was burned and fear of vengeance by the African National Congress forced his resignation from the Legislative Council. It is distressing but true that the British press and public were playing with the lives of the men, women, and children of their own race without any personal risk to themselves.

A matter of supreme importance to the whole world is to appreciate that these two countries, the Union of South Africa and the Federation, are the ultimate and only bulwark in the continent of Africa of the West and that, if they are lost to the West, they will be lost to anarchy, Russia, and Communism. This can only happen if Britain betrays the white man in Africa as the Labour Party, the Bow group, and Communism appear to desire.

ARTHUR F. LOVEDAY

THE APPROACHING CRISIS IN THE TRADE UNIONS

THE British trade unions are approaching a crisis in their internal affairs; a crisis caused by their failure to adapt themselves to changing circumstances. The situation is that British trade union structure and ideas were developed in the nineteenth century, and remain attuned to the circumstances of the nineteenth century. The immense changes which have taken place in the structure of industry and, consequently, in the scope and form of industrial relations during the twentieth century have had little effect on the outlook of the trade unions. Half-way through the twentieth century the British trade unions are still designed to represent nineteenth-century workers, against nineteenth-century employers, under nineteenth-century conditions. Compared with the developments in trade unionism abroad, particularly in America, our trade union movement has become something of a historical curiosity.

Thus, many aspects of trade unionism in Britain are outdated and do not function efficiently under present-day conditions. This gives rise to certain serious problems which the trade unions have so far been unable to solve: in fact have not even tried to solve. Three of these problems are of major importance at the present time, they are the problems of finance; apathy; and the relations between trade unions. In this article I shall discuss these problems, beginning with the problem of finance.

The Finances of Trade Unions

The trade union movement will sooner or later have to face up to the fact that a radical reorganization of trade union finances is long overdue. At first sight the trade unions appear to be financially stable. No major union has been in financial difficulty in recent years, and most unions have large reserves—in the larger unions these may amount to millions of pounds. But, as Sir Thomas Williamson pointed out in his union journal (that of the General and Municipal Workers) in December 1959, the receipts from members' contributions no longer cover the cost of administration: as he pointed out:

It was only with the aid of income other than in contributions (such as interest on investments) that unions were able to avoid drawing on reserves to cover their day-to-day costs. The seriousness of the situation [continues Sir Thomas] is brought out even more clearly by the fact that in 1958 the average contribution per member was £2 15s. 3d., whereas average expenditure per member was £2 15s. 7d.

(Approximately equal to what the average American trade unionist pays in *one month*.)

In June 1960 the Trades Union Congress published the results of its survey of trade union finances in 1958. The T.U.C. had made an earlier study of the situation in 1954 in which it had found that, between 1939 and 1954, costs of administration per member had risen by 80 per cent., while the average level of contribution per member had risen only 25 per cent. In 1954 58 unions were found to be spending more on administrative expenses than they received in from members' contributions. In 1958 the position had deteriorated still further. Of the 125 unions who contributed information—these represented 83 per cent. of the T.U.C.'s affiliated membership of over 8 millions—75 were spending more than they received in contributions: 32 of these were only able to pay their way by drawing on reserve funds, the others were able to cover the deficit by using the income from investments.

There is no actual danger of insolvency, for the unions do increase their subscriptions when that becomes an immediate threat: the real danger comes from the deterioration in efficiency within the trade unions. Without adequate finances the trade unions are quite incapable of coping with the demands that are made on them at the present day. As circumstances become more demanding their overall efficiency is declining rather than increasing to meet the challenge. The situation can best be summed up by quoting from the 'Introductory Commentary' to the T.U.C.'s survey written by Sir Vincent Tewson; he states:

Many unions told the T.U.C. that if they had the money they would improve their organization and their services to members, by spending more on publicity and recruitment and on education and training for union service. But the evidence shows that most unions tend to defer taking action to strengthen their funds until their total income falls below total expenditure—and sometimes not even then.

Four years ago the T.U.C. report on union finances was prefaced

by this comment: "Trade unionists know that their union's strength is not to be measured by its bank balance alone. But they cannot fail to recognize that loyalty is not enough—and that a realistic price must be paid for every service, including trade unionism."

The facts yielded by this later survey should prompt every conscientious trade unionist to ask whether trade unionism to-day can face the challenge of to-morrow with financial resources that are less than those of yesterday.

However, the bare figures given by the T.U.C. are misleading; the books balance at the moment only because thousands of full and part-time union officials are prepared to make personal sacrifices to keep the unions going. The unions have never been really solvent in the sense that they have never been in a position to 'buy' the services of their officials and to pay them wages commensurate to the responsibilities of the job.

Trade unionism in Britain is trade unionism 'on the cheap.' The ideas of the trade unions on finance became set at a time when workers were miserably paid and trade union subscriptions had to be kept as low as possible. This meant that trade union expenditure had to be kept to an absolute minimum. As a result the full-time staff of the unions were, and still are, few and poorly paid, most of the work of the unions being done by an army of unpaid officials. These officials were dedicated men willing to make sacrifices to further trade unionism; without such sacrifices there could have been no trade union movement in Britain. In spite of the enormous increases in wages since the nineteenth century the trade unions still remain on the same financial basis: low subscriptions and a small expenditure made possible only by the sacrifices of full- and part-time officials.

Thus trade union expenses *have* to be low, and the burden of keeping them low falls upon the officials. Salaries are poor: they are usually intended to give the full-time official a little more than the average member is earning, but the high piecework and overtime earnings of the present day usually mean that he is paid less. B. C. Roberts in his book on *Trade Union Government and Administration in Great Britain* estimates that most trade union Branch and District Secretaries earn from £600 to £800 a year; and that most General Secretaries earn between £800 and £1,200 a year. For these salaries officials are expected to be on call at all times;

and it is normal for an official to work several nights a week or at week-ends without any payment for overtime. The part-time officials are usually unpaid: some of them receive a small honorarium or a percentage of the subscriptions they collect, but these sums are minute and bear no relationship to the time and effort spent on trade union duties.

Shortage of funds also means that the British trade unions, unlike their American counterparts, spend a pitifully small amount on research and education. In Britain, for the most part, trade union education is only made possible by the sacrifices of unpaid tutors, lecturers, and officials. Research and education may seem unnecessary luxuries to the British trade unionist—although he will attack employers for spending too little on these items—but the gains made by the American trade unions since the war have shown that they pay a dividend. Under present-day conditions, with industrial matters growing steadily more complex, no trade union movement can remain effective without adequate facilities for education and research.

It is clear that to-day the finances of the trade union movement are inadequate, and the movement remains in being only because of the enormous amount of voluntary, unpaid, effort that is put into it. However, owing to the changes in the circumstances of the working classes since the war it is unlikely that such voluntary effort will be forthcoming indefinitely. Firstly, there are the changes that have taken place in our educational system since the war. Circumstances before the war made it necessary for many able boys to leave school at 14 and go to work. The trade union movement provided an outlet for many of these boys and drew its leaders from them. But to-day greater prosperity and better educational opportunities mean that the best boys stay on at school. Those who do eventually find their way into industry usually do so as apprentices, and have opportunities for advanced technical training, with day release and other facilities that did not exist pre-war, so that they find ample outlets for ambition through promotion within industry. With these outlets for talent being provided in ever-increasing numbers the supply of *able* men willing to take trade union office at paltry wages is rapidly diminishing.

The second significant change in circumstances is the increased prosperity of the workers. In the past when the workers were

exploited it was possible to arouse real fervour for the struggle to improve their lot: it is not so easy at the present day when wages are high and conditions of work good. In fact many trade union officials feel that it is they who are being exploited by their own members who expect them to work under conditions which the workers themselves would not tolerate from any employer. As one official said to the writer: 'If their employers tried to treat them the way they treat me they would come out on strike.' While workers are prosperous and are well paid for overtime it seems unlikely that the active trade unionists will be content for long to sacrifice their evenings and week-ends for nothing—or at best for a nominal payment. Sooner or later the trade unions will have to pay 'the rate for the job,' and they cannot do this unless they increase their incomes substantially.

Thus we come back to the question of increasing subscriptions. At first sight this presents no difficulties. The average wage to-day is over £12 a week and nearly all trade union members could pay double or even treble the present subscriptions without hardship: the average subscription, it is estimated, is only 1s. 3d. a week. But in practice it is not so easy, the members just do not want to pay more. It is not that they do not want trade unions but is due to the fact that they have been 'spoiled' for so long. They are used to getting trade union services 'on the cheap' and they see no reason why they should not continue to get them 'on the cheap.' It is a paradox of the trade union movement that men who are loyal to their unions and who will come out on strike with complete unity nevertheless grudge paying the smallest subscription.

There is, however, no other way out. The unions must have more money or become moribund. The task that lies before them is to reorganize their financial structure and to educate their members in the necessity to put the unions on a sound financial basis by paying reasonable subscriptions. This will be a very difficult task, the resistance from the members will be substantial, but it must be done if the unions are not to become crippled by lack of money.

Apathy in the Trade Unions

The fact that there is apathy among trade union members is well known; what is still not fully appreciated is the extent of this apathy. At the present day the trade unions are run by only a very

small minority of their members. The 1955 Report by P.E.P. (Political and Economic Planning) on *British Trade Unionism* stated that:

Eighty per cent. or more of trade union members are not active in union work. They generally do not vote even when officials are elected or a national agreement is decided on, and their views are therefore unrecorded. Very little is known for certain about their attitudes and activities.

Dr Joseph Goldstein, who did research into one branch of the Transport and General Workers Union, found that only one out of fifty-five meetings had been attended by more than 7 per cent. of the members. He also found that 60 per cent. of the inactive members had never attended a branch meeting, and a further 10 per cent. had not attended more than two. Forty per cent. had no idea where the branch meetings took place, 60 per cent. did not know when, and 15 per cent. said they would have felt out of place at a meeting.

The writer's own experience is that normal attendance at branch meetings is approximately a dozen, most of these being members of the Branch Committee; it does not seem to matter very much whether the membership of a branch is fifty or a thousand, the numbers who attend meetings seem to be much the same. In fact most trade union meetings are held in rooms that could not contain more than a fraction of the total branch membership. As one would expect from this, most trade unionists know very little about the affairs of their union. Many unions have an official monthly journal which is given to members, or sold for a nominal sum—usually 1d.—and most of the members get copies of these. However, very few seem to read them, for one finds when interviewing trade unionists that few of them have any knowledge of the affairs discussed in the journals.

What are the reasons for the appalling apathy that trade unionists show about matters that are so important to their working lives? The usual answer is: full employment. It is claimed by many trade union officials that men attend meetings only when times are bad but don't bother when things are going well. This is not really true, even when there is unemployment there is no considerable increase in attendances; a strike or a major dispute may double or treble attendances—temporarily—but even this represents only a small minority of the total membership. Thus one cannot blame apathy

entirely upon the full employment that has existed since the war.

There appear to be several reasons for apathy. First there are the changes which have taken place in the form of industrial relations. The branch used to be the centre of trade union activity. Industrial relations were conducted mainly at local level and, consequently, were carried out by the branch. Workshop organization was weak right up to the time of the Second World War, so that negotiations within the individual works were dealt with largely by the branch. As a result branch meetings were both important and interesting, those attending were sure to hear something of interest and at many meetings would be able to discuss matters of direct consequence to themselves.

However, since the war there has been a growing centralization of collective bargaining, national agreements being negotiated between associations of employers and confederations of trade unions—as in the shipbuilding and engineering industries. The branch plays only a very remote part in such top-level negotiation, and members are only called on to vote for or against a proposed policy or agreement. At the same time the importance of shop stewards and workshop organizations has been growing, and these now usually settle conditions within the individual works without reference to the branch. Thus the branch has lost power in two directions, and its meetings are largely devoted to matters of routine administration; matters of little interest except to the branch officials concerned. The situation can be summed up in the words of Mr George Woodcock, at that time Assistant General-Secretary of the T.U.C.; in a speech in May 1959 Mr Woodcock said: 'If I were an active trade unionist again you wouldn't see me anywhere near a branch; there's not enough done there to justify attendance.' This trend away from the branch is the inevitable result of changes in the structure of industry and could only be reversed by changing the pattern of industry: something which is clearly beyond the power of the trade unions.

Other factors which help to create apathy are the growth of popular entertainments such as the cinema and television, and the fact that in times of prosperity men have the money to spend on these and other entertainments. And it is difficult to imagine any developments that would enable the branch meeting to compete in interest against such entertainments.

The trade unions would do well to accept this fact, and, instead of bemoaning it or searching for non-existent remedies, they should set to work to adapt trade union organization to meet the conditions of the present day. These conditions are that the work of the unions is carried out, and will continue to be carried out, by a small minority of active members, while the vast majority remain uninterested and inactive in union affairs. The trade unions are not unique in this respect. Most of our voluntary associations—e.g. the political parties and the churches—are run by a tiny minority of the total membership. The trade unions are unlikely to succeed in arousing a general active participation where all other voluntary bodies have failed. What they must do is to seek new methods of communication in order to ensure that members are kept fully informed of trade union affairs and realize enough of their importance to vote in local and national union elections. In this way they will ensure that if the trade unions are run by a minority, at least this minority is chosen by, and carries out the policies approved by, a majority of the members.

The question is: what new methods of communication can the unions try? The only possible answer seems to be that the unions must establish communications with men on the shop floor, the only place where they can be sure to make contact with them. Workers are apathetic towards their trade unions because union affairs no longer seem to be of much consequence to the individual member. In the workshop there is far less apathy than at other levels of the union because here the union is dealing with things of direct interest to the members. It is not a matter of branch officials immersed in administrative problems; or national officials they may never have seen negotiating interminably with employers' associations on matters which the members do not clearly understand; it is the shop stewards they have elected by direct vote dealing with matters of immediate importance. In the workshop the trade union means something to the individual member, and it is at this level, and at this level alone, that the unions must establish contact with the members if they are to arouse greater interest in union affairs.

Logically, then, it would seem that the trade unions should shift the official centre of trade union activity from the branch to the workshop: which is now the real centre of activity. Mr George

Woodcock of the T.U.C. has been advocating this for some time. Speaking at the annual meeting of the North-Western Regional Advisory Committee of the T.U.C. in 1960, he pointed out that the initiative in union affairs was passing *inevitably* from the head offices of unions to shop-floor level and that the unions must make plans to meet this change: the trade unions cannot resist this change but they must find a way of controlling it. But even this advocacy from a leading figure in the T.U.C. has failed to arouse the trade unions to action. Most trade unions still seem to believe that they can resist the changes which are sweeping over industry and over our society: whether they can or not they apparently intend to try.

Relations between Trade Unions

In recent years there have been a very large number of strikes caused by disputes between trade unions, and it is unfortunate that such disputes are not confined to the unions concerned but involve many innocent parties—the employers, the general public, and members of other trade unions who may have to be laid off until the dispute is settled. For example, a dispute between two trade unions in Alexander Stephen's shipyard in Glasgow in 1957 is estimated to have cost over a million pounds and almost led to the total closing down of the yard.

Disputes between trade unions are usually referred to as demarcation disputes, but in reality there are two distinct kinds of inter-union disputes: jurisdictional disputes, and demarcation disputes proper. Jurisdictional disputes are caused when one trade union 'trespasses' upon another union's 'sphere of influence.' By a 'sphere of influence' is meant the occupations or works in which a trade union claims it has the exclusive right to recruit members. If another union recruits members from these occupations or works it is held to be 'poaching'—to use the official trade union term—on the territory of the first union. Relations between trade unions in this field are governed by the Bridlington Agreement of 1939 which states that unions shall: 'Not commence organizing activities at any establishment or undertaking in respect of any grade or grades of worker in which another union has the majority of workers employed and negotiates wages and conditions, unless by agreement with that union.'

The biggest jurisdictional dispute of recent years was that

between the Stevedores Union and the Transport and General Workers Union which caused the dock strike of 1955. A jurisdictional dispute also played a part in causing the London Airport strike of October 1958. In 1960 jurisdictional disputes between the Boilermakers Society and the Association of Supervisory Staffs, Executives and Technicians led to strikes in Harland & Wolff's and in Babcock & Wilcox in Glasgow. The Trades Union Congress can be called in to arbitrate in such disputes but its powers are limited, and the strike has usually taken place and the damage done before it can intervene. Intervention must be immediate if it is to prevent the worst effects of such disputes. The only way to ensure immediate intervention is for the trade unions to delegate more power to the T.U.C. to arbitrate in such disputes.

Demarcation disputes are far more common than jurisdictional disputes and represent a much more serious problem. A demarcation dispute is a dispute between two or more trade unions where each union claims that its members alone have the right to do a certain type of work. The worst demarcation disputes of recent years have occurred in shipbuilding where they have become a serious threat to the efficiency of the industry. Two yards that have suffered very badly are Cammell Laird's of Birkenhead and Alexander Stephen's of Glasgow—though most yards have suffered to some extent. In Cammell Laird's in 1955 there was a major dispute between three unions representing the shipwrights, the joiners, and the boilermakers. In April and May 1959 another dispute between the shipwrights and the boilermakers put 4,000 men out of work. The dispute in Stephen's lasted, on and off, for five years and, as stated earlier, nearly led to the closing of the yard.

Demarcation disputes are not as irrational as they are sometimes made to seem in popular accounts of them. The disputes occur because men believe that their livelihood is at stake. If tradesmen allow members of other trades to do work traditionally belonging to that trade the inevitable result will be unemployment for them, the trade will be supplanted by others and they will lose their status as tradesmen. This is actually happening at the present time to the shipwrights; what was traditionally their work is now being done by other processes and members of other trades with the result that the employment of shipwrights is falling rapidly. The shipwrights

are in fact fighting to keep their craft and their union—the oldest in the shipbuilding industry—alive in the face of technical changes that are taking away their traditional work.

Demarcation disputes have become more frequent since the war because of rapid technical progress. New machines, processes, and materials supplant existing trades and upset traditional lines of demarcation. For example, in the past joiners had a monopoly of work in wood, plasterers of work in plaster: but new materials like plaster-board raise demarcation problems on building sites where joiners and plasterers are working together. Every new technical development raises demarcation problems by altering the existing situation and raising the question of what trade is to do the job: what union is to organize it?

Technical change is inevitable and the problem for the unions is how are they going to settle the demarcation problems it raises, and prevent the disputes which are so costly to all—to workers, employers, and general public alike. One answer that has been put forward is that trade unions should amalgamate to form industrial unions; that is that all workers in an industry should belong to one union based on that industry alone. Demarcation disputes can, of course, occur between different crafts within one trade union—there have been recent examples in the Boilermakers Society—but these can be settled much more easily than disputes involving separate unions and they very rarely lead to strikes. In countries where there are industrial unions—Germany and Sweden for example—demarcation disputes are extremely rare. Thus there is only one trade union covering the whole of the Swedish shipbuilding industry and here strikes caused by demarcation disputes are unheard of: in Britain, where more than thirty separate unions are involved in shipbuilding, such strikes are accepted as a normal everyday occurrence.

Unfortunately amalgamation is not easy to attain. Last year the Boilermakers Society made proposals for the amalgamation of all workers in shipbuilding into one industrial union, but this met with a very cold reception from the other unions in the industry. The T.U.C. has been strongly advocating amalgamation into industrial unions since 1924 but without visible effect. The number of individual unions affiliated to the T.U.C. in 1928 was 196, in 1959 it was 185, which indicates little desire for amalgamation.

The difficulty is that in Britain the trade unions grew up piecemeal so that nearly every industry includes many unions, each proud of its traditions and its independence and determined to maintain them. When these are craft unions there is the additional fear that the craft interests of the members would be sacrificed in the interests of other, numerically stronger groups in an amalgamation. There is also the fact that the larger unions with interests in many industries, like the A.E.U. and the Transport and General Workers, are not in the least keen to give up large sections of their membership to form industrial unions. Thus amalgamation must be a very slow process, and with the present desire of British trade unions to maintain their independence it is not likely to be a solution for demarcation disputes in the near future.

But British industry—especially the shipbuilding industry—faced with intense foreign competition cannot afford the cost of many years of disputes before amalgamations take place. We are entering a period of rapid technical change in which demarcation disputes are bound to be frequent—occasioned by changes in traditional methods of working. It is up to the trade unions to devise machinery for dealing with these disputes. As with the jurisdictional disputes the way may be to strengthen the T.U.C.'s powers to arbitrate in disputes. But here once again the stumbling block is the desire of the separate trade unions to retain complete independence and their reluctance to grant the T.U.C., or any other body, power to intervene in their *private* affairs.

It is clear that something must be done to ensure a speedy settlement of jurisdictional and demarcation disputes between unions. If this cannot be done by amalgamation, then the only practicable method is for the trade unions to give the T.U.C. or some other independent body power to arbitrate in demarcation disputes, binding themselves in advance to accept the decision of the arbitrator. But there are no signs at the present time that the trade unions are willing to take any such action. Apparently union leaders are blind to the fact that the frequency of demarcation disputes reveals a dangerous weakness in the structure of the British trade unions and lowers the prestige of the trade union movement in the eyes of its members and the general public.

To summarize briefly what has been said in this article. We have examined three matters of immediate importance to the trade union

movement: finance; apathy; and the relations between trade unions. Firstly, it was seen that the finances of the trade unions require a complete overhaul: not merely a slight increase in subscriptions to keep them clear of insolvency but a complete reorganization to meet the needs of the present day. Trade unions will have to pay their officials wages commensurate to the responsibilities of the job; they will have to spend more on research, education, and other services. To find the funds for all this will require a financial revolution within the trade union movement. Secondly, it was seen that apathy is widespread and that attempts to revive the branch as the centre of trade union life are doomed to failure. If the trade unions are to remain in touch with their members, they must make the workshop organization the official, as well as the actual, centre of trade union activity. This will mean a complete reorganization of trade union structure, and drastic changes in trade union thinking. Thirdly, we have seen that the trade unions have failed to settle relations between themselves, so that inter-union disputes are allowed to disrupt industry. Once again the only solution involves radical changes in the trade union movement, the acceptance of the fact that unions must permit some independent authority to arbitrate in such disputes. Under modern conditions they cannot continue as sovereign bodies waging war on each other without regard to the effect upon others.

All three problems are internal matters which can only be solved by the unions themselves. Nevertheless, they concern us all, for the efficiency of the trade union movement is of vital importance to industry, and through industry affects the welfare of our whole society. For this reason it is to be hoped that the unions will, in the near future, make a determined effort to solve these problems. The trade unions have now achieved the status and recognition that they have struggled for over the last hundred years. Having achieved this, it would be tragic if they were to throw it away by refusing to face up to the needs and responsibilities of their new status, and to the changing circumstances of the present day.

A. J. M. SYKES

UNIVERSITY EXPANSION

CYNICS might say that because the industrial nineteenth century needed a literate population to tend machinery, schools for all children were established under the Education Act of 1870; and because our own scientific age requires technology and research, a demand for more universities is heard to-day. There is some truth in this, but it does not represent the whole picture. For one thing, the growth of population in itself makes it essential to increase the number of opportunities for higher education. After the last war the birthrate increased rapidly and, although it is now declining, the so-called bulge will make itself felt from this year, 1960, onwards. Another point to consider is that England cannot afford to fall behind other countries, notably the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., where university training, especially in the sciences, is expanding rapidly. Moreover, the demand for higher education in all its branches increases proportionately with its spread among the population—*l'appétit vient en mangeant*. A minor factor, generally overlooked, may be found in the emancipation of women, for the influence of a growing number of university educated mothers must have some effect on the coming generation. The Barlow Committee in 1946 issued a Report, stating 'that there is available in our population a large reserve of innate intelligence and that... there are more potential graduates than we could hope to take into our universities by any degree of expansion practicable within the next ten years.'

The need for science is obvious, and the number of its students had in fact more than doubled the pre-war figures by 1950. The University Grants Committee assumes that in the future expansion two-thirds of the increase will be in science and applied science. The humanities will always be wanted, if only in order to maintain the supply of trained persons in the teaching and other professions, in administration and the social services. But preparation for careers is not the only, perhaps not even the chief, aim of a university: civilization itself depends upon the spread of higher education among the citizens. European culture, developed throughout many centuries, has been handed down from one generation to another

by an *élite* in the past, but in our own democratic days it must be available to, and passed on by, everybody who has the intelligence and the desire to share in it.

How does one define a cultivated mind? It is not a mere storehouse of facts, although all education of course includes factual knowledge. It might be described as a mind capable of relating facts to one another, of seeing them against a relevant background, of judging them independently and without prejudice, or with as little prejudice as is humanly possible. The possessor of such a mind is articulate, and if, as is sometimes said, a scientist cannot write about his experiments in pleasant and lucid English, he may have become narrowed by over-specialization. However, the deficiencies are not all on his side.

There is no reason to think that scientists are less interested in, say, music and painting than non-scientists; and narrowness of outlook may be found in any specialist, irrespective of subject. Ignorance of science by arts students is probably more prevalent than ignorance of the humanities by science students.¹

There are at the present time twenty-one universities in Great Britain, and one independent university college, at Keele in North Staffordshire. This last and Sussex University College, shortly about to be opened, are the only two new ones since the end of the last war. During that period five university colleges, Nottingham, Southampton, Hull, Exeter, and Leicester, have acquired full status by Royal Charter, enabling them to grant their own degrees, instead of depending upon London University, as they had done previously. To-day only some colleges overseas, but none in England, still retain their original link with London. It is hoped that by 1970 the total university population of students will be 165,000, twice as many as there were in 1956. Sir John Wolfenden, in an address to the University Court, pointed out, referring to 'these astronomical student figures,' that, 'If the country wants this vastly increased university population, it must pay for it and the building programme alone represents not just a few million pounds but hundreds of millions a year if we are collectively to do the job.'

It looks as though the programme will indeed be paid for at a not too distant date, judging by the widespread demand and the

¹ University Grants Committee, Quinquennial Publication, 1952-7.

negotiations already taking place. In Coventry a representative meeting has recently put forward an urgent claim for a University of Warwick, which would probably cost about £3 million for a thousand places. The City Council has promised a site, and a million-pound appeal is to be launched. Birmingham University has raised no objection, and has in fact offered academic assistance. In Norwich and in York the University Grants Committee has approved in principle a plan for a university college granting its own degrees; in the former, as in Coventry, about £3 million will be required for a thousand students, and the whole of East Anglia is giving support. In York £500,000 is already assured from independent sources, while the County Councils of the North, East, and West Ridings of Yorkshire are behind the scheme. Kent has agreed to make an initial contribution of £100,000 for a local university, and an annual grant of about £50,000. At Durham there are plans to double the present number of 1,500 students by building three new colleges, two for men and one for women, and elsewhere also plans are being drawn up.

Keele, as the North Staffordshire University College is generally known, which was opened in October 1950 under Lord Lindsay of Birker as Principal, is the only fully residential college in England. It is unique in beginning its four-year course with a foundation year, for the purpose of studies in general culture, mainly in the history of Western civilization. It is sponsored by the Universities of Oxford, Birmingham, and Manchester, and can grant B.A. but not higher degrees, unlike Sussex University College, which is to be enabled to grant both.

The story of the development of the latter may serve to illustrate the manner in which such institutions grow out of local needs in characteristically English fashion. The idea was first put forward in Brighton at the end of 1911; at that time it was still undecided whether it should be a constituent part of London University, or whether it should be an independent university college started in conjunction with other towns on the south coast. A committee was set up, and it was agreed that Brighton, which has recently offered a site of 145 acres at Stanmer Park, was the most convenient place. Among other reasons, the town attracted foreign and overseas visitors, whose young people might welcome an opportunity for further education in the popular seaside resort. Chiefly, however,

lodgings were readily available, except at the height of the season, which coincided with the summer vacation. An appeal was launched with an outside estimate of £250,000, but at the outbreak of the First World War only a comparatively small sum had been raised.

Some years after the war the Committee again took up the scheme for a university, and eventually the University Grants Committee was approached. This has now given £1½ million for the cost of non-residential buildings, and when the Royal Charter has been granted it will recommend the Exchequer to make recurrent grants from 1962 onwards. The County Councils of East and West Sussex, and the County Boroughs of Brighton, Eastbourne, and Hastings have undertaken to provide nearly £40,000 a year towards the running costs. A further financial appeal aiming at a target of about half a million is shortly to be launched by the College Council.

Sussex University College will almost certainly take its first students in October 1961, two years earlier than was expected. A start is to be made with temporary accommodation, but by the autumn of 1962 the first permanent buildings, College House and a physics building, designed by Sir Basil Spence, should be ready, with the first instalment of scheduled buildings completed by the following year. College House, with refectories and common-rooms for leisure activities, is to be constructed in compact university style, with a colonnade around a high-walled court. The whole will be the centre around which three-storey buildings are later to be grouped. In addition to pre-fabricated concrete vaulting, use is to be made of pink Sussex brick, and the entire complex is intended to harmonize with the surrounding park and downland. It is hoped that ultimately there will be places for 3,000 students, although it is unlikely that residential accommodation in halls or hostels will be provided for more than a quarter of all students, which is roughly the same as in all universities throughout the country, except at Oxford and Cambridge, and at Keele.

The newly appointed Principal, Mr John Scott Fulton, former Principal of the University College of Swansea and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Wales, intends to liberalize the curriculum and widen the outlook of the students. They will have to show some knowledge of the history of ideas, and there will be a special School of European Studies. As Mr Stone, Brighton Director of Education, has written: 'The concept of a united Europe is developing fast:

political and economic thinking must be reinforced by cultural studies.' In this new university college, under Mr Fulton, the students will be prepared not for jobs only but for life.

Something remains to be said about the thousands of young men and women who are already flocking to the existing universities, a rapidly increasing proportion among them having their expenses partially or wholly provided for. In the year 1938-9 less than half were assisted by scholarships or grants of one kind or another; seventeen years later, in 1956-7, the number had risen to three-quarters, just over 75 per cent. In the past it was assumed that students—even when their object was merely to amuse themselves and pass a few years in agreeable idleness—came from a cultured background; to-day that can no longer be taken for granted. In a P.E.P. pamphlet on *The University Student's Background* it is remarked: 'It seemed increasingly clear that the gap between the way of life in the home and the way of life required to foster academic progress was growing wider as the university population increased.' It is a gap not easily breached, for differences, even in speech, make themselves felt in early childhood.

A little girl in a primary school, bidden to read aloud, exclaimed with a sigh: 'It's 'ard, ain't it, Miss?' Then she opened the book, and read with perfect aspiration, 'Hand in hand they walked along the highway.' If she had spoken as correctly at home, she might well have been reproved for affectation, but where educated speech can cause annoyance the resentment may not all be on one side. The working- or lower-middle-class student may well dislike a shared bedroom, I.T.V. blaring away for hours on end in the sitting-room, and a total lack of interest in the things which matter to him—all with possible consequences of anxiety and isolation. Richard Hoggart has dealt with this problem in his book, *The Uses of Literacy*. He speaks there of the uprooted scholarship boy from a working-class home: 'He has left his class, at least in spirit, by being in certain ways unusual; and he is still unusual in another class, too tense and overwound.' Maladjustment can take different forms, and sometimes explodes in the writings of angry young men, but as time goes on and the early generations of scholarship students are replaced by their own sons, the sense of frustration is likely to diminish and to disappear.

An increase in halls and hostels of residence would make it

possible for a greater number of students to become integrated into the life of the university. In Leicester, Sheffield, and elsewhere such halls are being built, and in some cases the University Grants Committee gives assistance towards them. An active share in the extra-academic life of the university is not always possible for young people who live in lodgings, still less for those who live at home if that means a distance involving a considerable journey twice every day. All students ought to have an opportunity of actually being in residence for at least a part of their period at a university. The influence of those who teach them is of immense importance, but not less so is their daily personal contact with one another: far-ranging discussions among themselves widens their outlook as much as, if not more than, lectures and seminars can do. Who, having been at a university in youth, can forget the delight of talking late into the night about Life with a capital L? Associations of all kinds flourish in such an atmosphere, and although not every debating society necessarily produces such famous politicians as the illustrious Oxford Union, they all open some new window for their members, and foster latent talents and tastes.

The unique opportunities for communion with other minds which are afforded by a university education should be spread geographically among the population as widely as possible. Fundamentally those opportunities are alike, whether they are offered under dreaming spires, or behind walls of red brick. They foster a link between those who are steeped in the tradition of philosophy or literature or history, and those who are exploring new fields in physics or biology or mathematics. In the words of Hastings Rashdall, on the last page of his monumental history of *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*:

it behoves us not to lose or lower the ideal of the university as the place *par excellence* for professed and properly trained students, . . . for the highest intellectual cultivation, and not merely for elementary instruction of useful knowledge; for the advancement of science, and not merely for its conservation or diffusion; as the place moreover where different branches of knowledge are brought into contact and harmonious combination with one another, and where education and research advance side by side.

D. L. HOBMAN

SOUTH KOREA IN TRANSITION

LAST spring a student-led insurrection in South Korea resulted in the overthrow of the twelve-year regime of Syngman Rhee, a regime which had unhappily degenerated into autocracy, corruption, and despotism. To-day the Republic of Korea is in a stage of clumsy transition, attempting to re-establish, on a lasting basis, those political and economic institutions which once earned it the name of 'Freedom's Frontier.'

'Freedom's Frontier' ceased to equal that epithet by 1956 when, in the national elections of that year, President Rhee's percentage of the total vote slipped to 56 per cent. Nearly 1,800,000 posthumous ballots were cast for the Democratic Party's candidate, Patrick Henry Shinicky, who had died ten days before the election, and 1,500,000 for Bong am Cho, Progressive Party leader, who three years later was executed by Rhee for alleged collaboration with the Communists. Made conscious by these results of widespread public protest, Rhee and his ruling party failed to effect the changes that would satisfy public opinion, instead removed the last semblance of democratic processes and instituted a near police state; the militant and bullying National Police and the green-shirted Anti-Communist League toughs were selected to force Rhee's policies on an unwilling electorate. The opposition press was all but silenced, and those Democratic and Progressive leaders who spoke out were rewarded with political and economic reprisals.

This was a disappointing state of affairs, not only for the Korean public, but for United Nations forces stationed there, who recalled the 2,000,000 casualties they had suffered during the bitter three-year Korean conflict, presumably to preserve democratic institutions as well as the independence of the Republic of Korea. Yet it was not until February of this year that this disappointment and the lingering public resentment found expression.

On February 1, President Rhee made the announcement which, although it was intended to ensure his election to a fourth consecutive term, ultimately sparked the events that led to his overthrow. He advanced the customary May election date to March 15, an obvious political move to take advantage of the absence in the

United States (for an abdominal operation) of his only opponent, Dr Pyong-ok Chough, who was thereby deprived of the opportunity to make an energetic and prolonged campaign. The excuse for this transparent manœuvre was that the early election would not interfere with the spring rice-planting season. A fortnight later Dr Chough died, and Rhee was unopposed. Pleas by the opposition party to postpone the election and permit the selection of a new candidate were ignored by the Rhee government and, ironically, the proponents of those pleas were accused of 'purely political motives.'

Assured of re-election, Rhee turned his tactics to the election of his chosen successor, the unpopular Ki-poong Lee, Liberal Party henchman and speaker of the House of Representatives. Since 1956, under the peculiarities of the ROK election law, Rhee had been encumbered with a vice-president of the opposition Democrats, John Myun Chang, who in that last honest election had defeated Lee by 200,000 ballots. Considering Rhee's advanced age—85 last March—the otherwise ceremonial position of vice-president assumed critical importance. Rhee was determined to see, by the many means available to him, that Chang would not be re-elected this year.

Much of his manœuvring was apparent during the pre-election period: his hoodlums beat up journalists attempting to give an honest presentation of the campaign; registration papers of opposition candidates were 'lost' and they were unable to go on the ballot; in the countryside voters were gathered in groups of nine, 'taught' how to vote, and on election day voted in groups of three, with a leader in the middle to check their ballots before they were dropped in the box. Much of his manœuvring has been exposed since the election and successful insurrection: millions of bogus ballots printed; ballot boxes stuffed with previously marked ballots for the Liberal Party candidates; millions of *hwan*—much of it from U.S. counterpart funds—diverted to bribe high army and business officials to ensure the election of Rhee and Lee. When the results came in, there were, astonishingly, no recorded posthumous votes for Dr Chough; Rhee won 92 per cent. of the vote, and the remainder was termed 'invalid'; and Lee won over Chang by a more than suspicious 6,500,000-vote margin.

Such opposition press as had survived twelve years of Rhee's

intolerance spoke out euphemistically against the election tactics, finally settled for resigned leaders expressing vaguely optimistic hopes for a future change for the better. Foreign press comments—almost unanimously critical of Rhee—were published by the most outspoken English language daily, *Korea Times*, and those comments undoubtedly impressed that part of the public able to read English—particularly the students. Yet for a month after the election, discouraged Koreans shrugged shoulders, felt unable to plan any dynamic protest against Rhee, if only that the Liberal Party and its supporters in every quarter of the commercial and political life of the nation were too able to invoke sanctions—and in a nation with 1,400,000 unemployed, a job is a precious thing. Thus, for a month after the election the atmosphere was one of resignation and depression.

But in mid-April the university and high school students returned from Easter holidays, and discussions of grievances bloomed into spontaneous demonstrations which reached their peak on April 19, now known as 'Blood Tuesday,' when the hated National Police fired on the demonstrators, killing 125, wounding nearly 1,000. President Rhee enforced martial law and a dawn-to-dusk curfew, but the passivity, indeed sympathy towards the students demonstrated by the ROK army diluted the effectiveness of both measures.

A week later university professors joined the students in a protest march on the presidential palace, demanding the retirement of vice-president-elect Lee and the resignation of Rhee himself. Even the United States Department of State, which for years had militarily, economically, and morally supported all but the most drastic excesses of the Rhee regime, suddenly reversed its official position; Secretary of State Herter delivered a warning to Rhee, expressing sympathy with the grievances of the demonstrators. Rhee attempted to sidestep the inevitable, promised to disassociate himself from the Liberal Party, act as a non-political Head of State. His watery promises did not satisfy the demonstrators, violence continued, and on April 26 Rhee finally retired, turning over the government to Chung Huh, his foreign minister but generally acknowledged to be apolitical.

During the difficult transitional period between Rhee's departure and this summer's election, Huh made considerable progress towards re-establishing political freedoms in South Korea. Corruption

and election frauds of the Liberal Party, National Police, and high commercial interests were disclosed. Huh invited a broad public debate on the important constitutional change which, when finally approved, resulted in the replacement of the presidential system, under which Rhee had seized undue powers, with a premier-cabinet system along British lines. Long-suppressed opposition newspapers were encouraged to resume publication. Guarded, but considerably warmer overtures were made to Japan to encourage a resumption of full-scale trade and diplomatic relations, which had ceased in the atmosphere of ill will resulting from thirty-five years of Japanese occupation.

But the caretaker government encountered problems which have yet to be thoroughly resolved. Inevitably the Huh administration found itself involved in personal vendettas and political reprisals, to such a degree that real progress on vital issues became arduous, sometimes impossible. Even the students, who had shown admirable restraint and concern for public order after their successful revolt, began again to demonstrate, specifically against Huh's assistance in Rhee's flight to Hawaii, generally against Huh's failure to dissolve the House of Representatives—in which the majority was still composed of the discredited Liberal Party—and lack of positive advancement towards the aims of the uprising. Top army officers, including chief of staff Lt.-Gen. Yo-chan Song, resigned; the army was found to have played an unsavoury part in the rigged March election; and ROK army morale sagged dangerously at a time when North Korean Communists, and their sympathizers south of the 38th Parallel, were making every attempt to capitalize on the state of chaos and political vacuum.

Added to these difficulties, Huh had to contend with the inevitable and, to a point, healthy birth and re-birth of a dozen or more political parties, some wildcat in nature, others sincere in their wish to establish a new political climate, all desirous of elbowing to power. Observers of the scene were reminded of the at once comic and hazardous circumstances of 1946 when, freed from Japanese domination, 134 political parties of national stature sprouted in South Korea, an impossible and unstable situation that, in part, certainly contributed to the growth of the Rhee autocracy.

By March of this year the Republic of Korea had become in principle a two-party state, in practice one party. After the uprising

the caretaker government naturally hesitated, as party after party arose, over the amendment to establish a premier-cabinet system and call for new national elections. Among the myriad of parties which sought power during the period of the caretaker government, the national elections, and which are still active in South Korea, more prominent are:

The Democratic Party, only oppositionists during the last years of the Rhee era, which emerged dominant from the insurrection. The Democrats were hampered during the election, are still hampered to-day, by a factional split between the 'moderate' wing, formerly led by Dr Chough, and the more 'radical' wing of former vice-president Chang. Both wings are essentially conservative in nature and in the area of foreign relations present much the same line as that pursued by Rhee, with the exception of a more moderate attitude towards Japan. On domestic policy, the Democrats have called for an end to corruption, a re-establishment of personal freedoms, reprisals against those responsible for the election frauds. The party's economic programme is cautious and has been threatened by long-suppressed non-conservative forces.

The Progressives, split into several warring factions, agreed only in calling for a planned economy along socialist lines. The Popular Socialist Party demands a bi-partisan approach to foreign relations, while preserving a basically pro-Western line. The party has been partially successful in absorbing the remnants of the original and outlawed Progressive Party, the Democratic Reformist Party, and other minor left-wing parties which became extinct during the Rhee period. A second group has adopted the name of 'progressive-conservatives' and finds the Popular Socialists too radical; a rather eccentric organization, loosely called 'The League,' it includes a Confucianist leader, Chang-suk Kim; an alleged anarchist, Wha-am Chung; and the former leader of the defunct Working People's Party, Kung-sang Chang. A third progressive group, The Young Guardians of the Republic Party, has conducted an energetic attack on the Democrats' announced programme for 'a balanced mixture of free and planned economies,' with the emphasis on the former.

On the right is The Korea Independence Party, highly nationalistic in nature; The Chosun Democratic Party, a refugee organization similar to the far-right groups in Western Germany; and The Neutral Korea Party, which demands a radical departure from

previous national and international policies and the neutralization of South Korea and disbandment of the ROK army.

Discredited but not quite dead, members of Rhee's long-dominant Liberal Party, most of whose representatives resigned in June, have either chosen to function as independents or banded together under the name of Republican Party, strongly opposed to the progressive elements but, because of their exposed position, cautious.

The Communists, who have not been permitted a formal foothold in the Second Republic, have accelerated propaganda, particularly in the wake of army resignations, flooding the Demilitarized Zone with encouragement to the most radical factions of the army.

To-day, in a period of turbulent transition, the Second Republic of Korea is attempting to realize the aims of the April insurrection and re-join the family of truly democratic nations. Providing the new government is able to establish, under its untried premier-cabinet system, sufficient stability to accomplish its objectives, one can anticipate:

(1) An improvement in Korean-Japanese relations; a *modus vivendi* if not actual settlement of the explosive issue of repatriation of Koreans from Japan to North Korea; agreement on the controversial Rhee Fishery Line (which has resulted in the frequent seizure of Japanese fishing boats and their crews); and resumed trade between the two nations, absolutely essential for a healthy ROK economy.

(2) If not an end, at least a decrease in the corruption that was a way of life under the Rhee regime; closer control by the United States Operations Mission in South Korea over U.S. aid funds (\$2.7 billion to date) of which unaccountable millions vanished in political bribes.

(3) A total separation of the ROK armed forces from political life, in that they be an effective anti-communist fighting force.

(4) An end to threats of dramatic military operations, particularly the long-heralded march north to re-unify the Korean peninsula by force, so often threatened by President Rhee.

(5) A smaller but more efficiently organized army, whose 600,000 men now eat up 40 per cent. of the national budget, a burden South Korea cannot economically bear.

(6) Permanent establishment of an Upper House, provided for in

the ROK constitution but blocked by Rhee and the Liberals because of the fact that had it been established, its governing officer would have been the Democrat John Chang.

(7) A suppression of police powers to avoid the violence and 'goon squad' intimidations of the now-discredited National Police.

(8) Most vital of all, an atmosphere of political freedom, guaranteed civil liberties, and an end to the overly militant anti-communism which in the past resulted in such drastic measures as the ROK Security Law, which was used as a tool against not only Communists but any who disagreed with Liberal Party policy.

It is too early accurately to evaluate the outcome of this summer's election. The Second Republic of Korea is still in a stage of treacherous yet optimistic confusion, a transition to a future still hazy. The April insurrection hints that after twelve years of disastrous experimenting with democratic processes, the ROK electorate is thoroughly awakened to the dangers of autocracy, to the true values of an honest, healthy economy and free political institutions. If the gains of the past five months can be made permanent, South Korea will in fact earn once more its sobriquet of 'Freedom's Frontier.'

JOHN BARR

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THE PUBLICATION AND RECEPTION OF DISRAELI'S *VIVIAN GREY*

THE publication of *Vivian Grey*, Disraeli's first novel, in 1826, gave rise to many legends which were long uncritically repeated by his biographers. The main allegations were that the novel was heralded by an intensive campaign of 'puffery,' for which Disraeli's enemies did not hesitate to say that he was personally responsible; that the reviewers received the work cautiously while it remained anonymous, and attacked it violently as soon as the author's identity was disclosed; and that, after the wild popular success of the novel, Disraeli became a society 'lion' and was taken up by the Blessington-D'Orsay circle. This last story was completely discredited by Monypenny's investigations, and is without a shred of truth. The other allegations have some truth, and the circumstances of the publication and reception of *Vivian Grey* remain far from clear.

The date of the composition of *Vivian Grey* is quite obscure. Monypenny states that, 'here [at Hyde House, Amersham] Disraeli always said he wrote *Vivian Grey*, taking the idea from *Tremaine*, and completing the book before he was twenty-one.'

Like so many other pieces of Disraelian reminiscence, this is quite unreliable. The Disraeli family spent the autumn of 1825 at Hyde House, the home of Plumer Ward, and Disraeli came of age on December 21 that year. Disraeli spent the months of September to December, at least, in the hectic intrigues which accompanied Lockhart's appointment as Editor of the *Quarterly Review*, and the plans for the founding of Murray's paper, the *Representative*. Monypenny implies that the work was written after Disraeli's break with Murray, which probably happened in December, and this is almost certainly the case.

The question of the date of composition is necessarily connected with that of the 'originals' of character and plot. Murray believed that he had been pilloried in the guise of the 'Marquess of Carabas,' an eminent but stupid nobleman. The identification of the plot of *Vivian Grey* with the events of the *Quarterly Review* and *Representative* affairs was alluded to by some contemporary journalists, but later writers were generally too busy equating Disraeli with *Vivian Grey* to worry about the rest of the book.

The novel was originally published in two volumes, comprising four books. The first seven chapters take Vivian Grey through school and a course of reading in his father's library, and the rest of the first book is occupied by those general reflections on politics—'Thou splendid juggle'—at which later Radical pamphleteers professed to be so shocked. Carabas appears at the beginning of the second book, and the drunken scene, which is probably what annoyed Murray so much, at the end of it. This, the first volume, bears signs of greater care in composition than the following books, where 'both the narrative and the characters become incoherent.' Book three opens with the appearance of Cleveland, the exiled politician whom Vivian Grey seeks to persuade to act as the brains of a new party, to be nominally headed by Carabas, despite the personal enmity of the two men. Cleveland, both in circumstances and in manner, suggests Lockhart, and there is a clear indication of this identification. In the manuscript of *Vivian Grey* at Hughenden, Cleveland appears as 'Chiefston,' a clear allusion to Chiefswood, Lockhart's home. There does not seem to be any evidence that Lockhart recognized the caricature, and the coldness between the two men seems to have dated almost from Lockhart's first meeting with Disraeli.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that much of the earlier part of the novel was written in 1825, before the Murray affairs began. Disraeli was a precocious youth, who had already written a satirical sketch, *Aylmer Papillon*, now lost, and the surviving fragments of his youthful writings show considerable facility with the pen.

The second volume must, however, have been written after Disraeli's visits to Scotland, which took place in September and November 1825. Although there are episodes, such as the intrigues at Chateau Desir, which needed no originals, being the outpourings of a romantic and over-imaginative mind as yet quite unrestrained, the basis of the plot makes this conclusion inevitable. As Disraeli was occupied with his scheme for a newspaper until December, and the novel was published in April, much of it must have been written at top speed in the early weeks of 1826.

There fortunately survives, in the correspondence of Mrs Austen, a fascinating account of the progress of the novel. Mrs Austen, whose husband was Ward's solicitor, had negotiated the publication of *Tremaine* with Colburn, and now performed a similar service for

Vivian Grey. Moreover, in order to preserve anonymity, Mrs Austen copied the entire manuscript of the novel.

She saw the book through the press, sending to Bentley, the printer, such tart notes as, 'When Mrs Austen has the pleasure of seeing the Printer *really wants* more copy, she will send some immediately—at present the request can only be made from curiosity.'

There is no indication that Colburn saw the work before he accepted it, a circumstance which gave rise to the story that Mrs Austen allowed him to believe that *Vivian Grey* was also by Plumer Ward. The strongest precautions were taken to prevent discovery of the author's identity; he was scarcely allowed even to correct the proofs, and Mrs Austen urged his sister to make sure that he did so only in pencil.

The relationship between Mrs Austen and Disraeli inevitably gave rise to some question. Among the Hughenden papers is preserved an intriguing scrap of evidence. This is a letter from Mrs Austen to Disraeli, on some occasion when he was unwell; after a few conventional lines, the use of the Latin alphabet is abandoned in favour of a code. The code message reads:

I cannot continue my note thus coldly. My shaking hand will tell that I am nervous with the shock of your illness. *What is the matter?* For God's sake take care of yourself, I dare not say for my sake do so, nor can I scold you for your note now you are ill. So indeed I must pray. Do everything that you are desired. If without risk you can come out tomorrow let me see you at twelve or any hour which will suit you better. I shall not leave the house till I have seen you. I shall be miserably anxious till I do.... May God bless you and grant your recovery to my anxious prayers; my spirits are gone till you bring a renewal of them....

Colburn, having accepted the novel, set about advertising it. On April 1, 1826, his *New Monthly Magazine* contained the following notice:

A very singular novel of the satirical kind is on the eve of publication, to be called *Vivian Grey*. It is said to be a sort of Don Juan in prose, detailing the adventures of an ambitious, dashing and talented young man of high life. The style in which it is written is, we understand, perfectly original and spirited, and nearly all the individuals at present figuring in fashionable society are made to flourish with

different degrees of honour, in the pages of this new work. It has been whispered that it is the intention of the author to resume the history of his hero (after the manner of Lord Byron's celebrated work) from time to time, to carry him into every scene of modern life, and to make him intimately acquainted with every fashionable and political character of the day.

Three days before the appearance of the prose *Don Juan*, the first issue of a new magazine, *Star Chamber*, was published. Disraeli was long freely accused of starting and editing this magazine for his own ends. Disraeli had certainly some connection, in that the editor, Peter Hall, had been at Oxford with William Meredith, Disraeli's friend, who was to be later engaged to Sarah Disraeli. It is possible that Disraeli wrote *The Dunciad of To-day*, a satirical poem which appeared in two May issues, and some fables under the heading of *The Modern Æsop*. The purpose of the magazine, which survived for only eight issues, is unknown, but the allegation that Disraeli started it in order to boost his own novel is quite unsupported by the evidence, and seems to be inherently improbable. In the first number the following paragraph is found:

We are unable to give any accurate information as to the new work called *Vivian Grey*, which that energetic publisher, Mr Colburn, is about shortly to introduce to our notice. One account states that it is a spiritual production, a kind of supplement to *Tremaine*; by another we are informed that it is extremely satirical, with portraits of living characters, sufficient to constitute a *National Gallery*. Last week it was whispered in the New Monthly that it was a second *Don Juan*, and that 'the hero is to become acquainted with every literary and fashionable character in existence.' As the New Monthly is Mr Colburn's oracle, we suppose that this account must be considered as official; if so, we think that Mr Vivian Grey will have sufficiently hard work.

When the novel was published, *Star Chamber*'s only comment, introducing long extracts from the work, was, 'It is a very extraordinary production, and must infallibly be universally read.'

On April 22, 1826, the first of eleven novels from the pen of Benjamin Disraeli, published over a period of fifty-four years, made its appearance. On the same day, the first critical shot was fired by Jerdan in the *Literary Gazette*, a magazine in which Colburn had a considerable interest. The tone of the review is somewhat arch, and the reader is left with the impression that *Vivian Grey* will be a

nine days' wonder. Jerdan printed long extracts and made lengthy comments, a fact which he later described as constituting 'no slight tribute to the author's talent.'

Of one passage he wrote the ominous words:

This 'somewhat smacks' of the literary writer, and were we not assured that in these days... when the terms author and nobleman are synonymous, we should have a sinister idea that the class of the author was a little betrayed by his often recurrence to topics of this sort, about which the mere man of fashion knows *nothing* and cares less.

The passage in question mentions such figures as Tom Moore, Rogers, Mary Wortley Montagu, the author of *Tremaine*, and Croker, and includes an anecdote from the travels of Clapperton and Denham, whom Disraeli had met at Murray's in the previous year. This literary gossip may well have aroused Jerdan's suspicions—it was scarcely discreet of the author to mention his own father's name more than once—or he may have recognized the originals behind the story. There is no reason to believe that Jerdan could have learned the secret from Mrs Austen, who wrote to Disraeli in considerable agitation when she heard a rumour, traced to Jerdan, which linked his name with the novel.

In mid-May *John Bull* reported that *Vivian Grey* had been attributed to J. W. Croker, Theodore Hook, Lockhart, and Maginn, among others. By the end of the month, however, the secret was out; an advertisement for the *London Magazine* mentioned an article in which Disraeli's name was linked with the novel. This publication was a bitter enemy of Colburn, and it had, in its May issue, warned its readers against his system of puffing, giving as illustrations various passages from paragraphs in Colburn's journals, praising *Vivian Grey*.

The *London Magazine*'s review of the work asserts that the novel is by one of the '*John Bull* and *Blackwood* click,' naming Hook, Croker, Maginn, and Lockhart as possible authors. Various reasons, most of them highly derogatory, are given for and against each. It is obviously a *John Bull* book; this is shown by the emphasis on fashion, which proclaims the author as an 'outsider.'

There is apparent an under-bred satisfaction, a vulgar complacency, in the author when discovering his conversance with the

forms and features of polite company, that belongs to the hand of one of these would-be exquisites.

He is uneven, often writes sheer nonsense, is often dull and prosy . . . he never ceases to be ill-natured . . . he attempts to imitate Sterne, but succeeds only in writing like an idiot.

The style is based on the *John Bull* click; they are morally responsible for it, even if it was not written by one of them.

The central character is roundly trounced, as an intellectual Don Juan, worming his way into good society by 'flattery, cringing, lying and sneaking to his superiors'; the other characters are not much better. The review reaches a startling conclusion: 'It must be the production of some talented Abigail, whose natural weapon of offence is her tongue.'

Later in the same issue appears the following note: '*Vivian Grey* is said to be written by young D'Israeli. Here is a circumstance for Murray's back shop! Our cat is wringing her hands. There is much talk about hospitality to servants, and stinging and all that.'

Despite Mrs Austen's efforts, the secret was out. Even before this, Colburn's enemies had been, to say the least, harsh. Now a perfect torrent of abuse broke out.

In *Blackwood's*, Christopher North denounced Colburn's 'shameful and shameless puffery,' and Tickler replied that Colburn had hinted at different authors to different newspapers, and that Disraeli was 'an obscure person for whom nobody cares a straw.'

The *Literary Magnet* under Charles Knight, who continued in hatred of Disraeli for the rest of his long life, attacked vigorously the 'Nuisances of the Press,' of which Disraeli was the chief. He is accused of seeking to share his father's notoriety, of sacrificing his character as a gentleman and his future reputation for a little factitious popularity, and of composing his novel of servants'-hall gossip gained by bribery. Its success, such as it was, was gained by Colburn's methods of puffery, and its motives were assessed at the lowest level. 'The author would have the opportunity, by promising additional volumes, of extorting, with little chance of detection, pecuniary compensation from some poor nervous scion of the quality, for what he would modestly entitle the *suppressio veri*.'

The hero is dismissed as, 'A scoundrel, a liar, a base, deluding, flattering, fawning villain.'

For the first time in these polemics, the *Star Chamber* story was

aired, together with that of Disraeli's having been editor of the *Representative*.

Among Knight's scandalous suggestions is the story that 'hearing horsewhips were preparing.' Disraeli went round all the people he had insulted, and assured them on his honour that he was not 'the author of *Vivian Grey*'.

The *Literary Magnet* later carried another article, in which a wealth of detail was produced to show that Disraeli was editor of *Star Chamber*, including an analysis of *The Dunciad of To-day*. One particular allegation deserves repetition:

Tremaine is by the Hon. Mr Ward, whose attorney's wife carried the MS with a great deal of mystification to Mr Colburn. Some time afterwards [she appeared with *Vivian Grey*] and as she did not state that the said production was not from the pen of the 'man of refinement,' Mr Colburn very naturally inferred that it was, and upon this supposition gave somewhere about twice as much as he would otherwise have given for the copyright.... There is a story in circulation respecting the unauthorized transcription of a certain private diary, belonging to Mr Ward.... The 'circumcised' must have strange notions of common honesty, if they can countenance such proceedings as this.

A little later Alaric Watts mentioned this story, with even stronger implications of dishonesty, to William Blackwood as a matter of common knowledge in London.

Some reviewers, however, were more lenient. At the end of May, the *Literary Chronicle* described *Vivian Grey* as a:

very clever work, amusing and interesting, written in a dashing, off-hand style, and imbued with not a little of literary dandyism.... The book itself may be characterized as a literary luncheon, light and pleasant rather than substantial; and so far, to make use of a favourite expression of the author's, we do patronize it.

In August the *Literary Chronicle* denied the *Literary Magnet's* reports of Disraeli's connection with *Star Chamber*.

August brought also a very violent attack in the *Monthly Magazine*, probably by George Croly, in an article on fashionable novels.

The latest performance of the novel press is *Vivian Grey*, immeasurably the most impudent of all feeble things, and of impudent things the most feeble; begot in puppyism, conceived in pertness, and born in puffing. Whether the writer was anything above a

collector of intelligence in servants'-halls and billiard rooms, no one of course could tell, for no one had ever heard his name before; but the graces of a tavern-waiter, and the knowledge of a disbanded butler, are but sorry things, after all, to trade upon; and this miserable product of self-sufficiency was received with the contempt due to its abortiveness.

However, let his obscurity be as profound as it might, he soon became conspicuous. Murray, probably anxious to get rid of some of his superfluity, listened to the advice of this rising genius, and the result . . . was the starting of the *Representative*; Mr D'Israeli Jun. proposing himself as the editor, and promising in his first essay to astonish the stupid world with superfine writing. . . . What this elegant could make of the unfortunate *Representative* was discovered in two days, and might have been discoverable in two minutes; what he made of unfortunate John Murray is just as palpable. The next effort of this 'early genius' was to set up a little contemptible journal, soliciting subscriptions by the old system of self-praise and impertinence . . . the public will swallow a good deal . . . it could not take down the 'Journal' and so it rejected it upon the author.

Of the individual in question we know nothing; the miserable efforts that he has made to force himself into the public talk have failed, and we shall probably never have to mention his name again . . . his only chance of escaping perpetual burlesque is to content himself with 'wearing his violet-coloured slippers,' 'slobbering his Italian greyhound,' and sinking suddenly and finally into total oblivion.

If the press condemned in such terms, there are indications that the ordinary reader enjoyed the novel. Ward wrote to Mrs Austen that the opinion of his fellow-guests at a house party was entirely favourable. It was, at least, successful enough for Colburn to publish a Continuation in three volumes in the following year. This, a hastily written account of the hero's wanderings in Germany, was less noticed than the original.

Lockhart said many years later that *Vivian Grey* was the most successful thing that Disraeli ever wrote; an odd opinion, for few would exalt it above *Coningsby* or *Sybil*. Guizot said that the career of the English political novel had opened, but he should have kept his dictum for *Coningsby*. Disraeli himself later regarded its publication as a mistake, and long refused to sanction a new edition. In 1853, however, he was persuaded to allow it to appear with the rest of his novels; for this edition, the text was drastically purged, and an apologetic preface added.

Books written by boys, which pretend to give a picture of manners, and to deal in knowledge of human nature, must necessarily be founded on affectation. They can be, at the best, but the results of imagination, acting on knowledge not acquired by experience... exaggeration is a necessary consequence, and false taste accompanies exaggeration. Nor is it necessary to remark that a total want of art must be observed in their pages, for that is a failing incidental to all first efforts. When their authors subsequently become eminent, such works are sought for from causes irrespective of their merits. Such productions should be exempt from criticism, and looked upon as a kind of literary *lusus*.

So the statesman was obliged to excuse the sensational novel of his youth; we may forgive the literary failings, and it is perhaps unnecessary at this length of time to try to enquire into the truth, or otherwise, of journalistic vilification. That, for many other reasons, was to pursue the author of *Vivian Grey* to the end of his life.

R. W. STEWART

The author is indebted to Mr G. E. Muspratt, late of Brasenose College, Oxford, for the transcription of Mrs Austen's code letter.

CHARITY CHILDREN

THERE was, as the eighteenth century dawned, a measure of realization of the pitiful conditions under which the children of the poor existed. And the problem of pauperism, subsequent upon the breakdown of the Tudor Poor Law, was insistent throughout the century. Competently administered by the early Stuart kings it could, after their century closed, no longer keep the poor and their children from being a burden upon the rates, which was inconvenient to say the least of it. While poverty was regarded as an essential concomitant of cheap labour, the burden of the poor was rapidly becoming too heavy a charge upon the national income, and their state too serious a threat to the providential order of society, for toleration.

There was, however, another side to the picture. Compassion and concern stirred the hearts of men who saw, with the rising tide of pitiful poverty, also the 'monstrous increase . . . in Profaneness and Vice,'¹ and the ignorance and evil habits which accompanied the misery and desolation of the children of the poor. At the first meeting of the 'Gentlemen concern'd in Promoting the Charity-Schools in and about the Cities of London and Westminster' a sermon was preached in St Andrew's, Holborn, on June 8, 1704, pointing out the responsibility laid on those more favourably placed for such children. Dr Richard Willis, Dean of Lincoln, continued:

We cannot but be sensible what mighty Temptations young people in our Age meet with at their first setting out in the world; and therefore it is very often as much as Body and Soul and Estate too are worth, to have them well prepared beforehand with a good knowledge . . .

and he concludes:

the last duty I shall mention of Parents is, to Pray for their Children, and not perfunctorily, and of course, . . . but seriously and heartily, and with Perseverance.²

¹ First Circular Letter from the Honourable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to their Clergy Correspondents in the several Counties of England and Wales, 1699.

² S.P.C.K. Society's Reports, 1704-14.

The problem was serious. Locke, when a Commissioner of the Board of Trade, described how the labouring man while in health might be able to maintain his wife and two children, but beyond that number their offspring were almost certain to become a charge on the parish until at twelve they might be apprenticed or put out to service.¹ While conditions in rural areas were bad, those of the congested alley-ways of the cities were worse. Children 'laid in the streets' became at once a burden upon rates, and for obvious reasons too few of them therefore survived a sickly infancy while in the care of parish nurses 'void of commiseration and religion.'²

It was conditions such as these, of misery, of ignorance, and of vice, which induced men of compassion and of religious conviction to begin the immense task of the Charity schools in England and Wales.³ There can be little doubt from study of contemporary correspondence that the motives of the pious gentlemen who undertook this task were high and generous. The poor received neither adequate bread nor adequate instruction. On Sundays although 'sometimes great numbers of the middling sort'⁴ came to church for instruction, the very poor had neither strength nor clothes nor time to attend. A Poor Box hung in the entry to the house of the Reverend Henry Shute, Treasurer of the S.P.C.K. during the years 1704–14, and many families 'in great want,' 'with sickly children' and afflicted with rheumatism, 'the stone,' lameness or blindness, were assisted. Such for example as:

William Taylor who is out of Business, his wife hath lately broken her Legg; hath 3 small children one of them sick of the small Pox, living in Bridgwater square near the Sign of the Horseshoe in Cripplegate Parish. 2s.⁵

Edward Palmer who by reason of weakness can do but little work hath a wife and 4 children living in Kingshead Court, Beach Lane, Cripplegate Parish. 2s.⁶

Eliz. Gaile, a widow, with 3 children, very poor in Shadwell Parish

¹ Locke, J., *Report to the Board of Trade*, 1697.

² *Journals of the House of Commons*, March 8, 1715.

³ This scheme eventually spread to Scotland and Ireland, but the positions were so different that they cannot be considered within the scope of this article.

⁴ S.P.C.K. Abs. of Corres. Letter from Dr Hutchinson, Bury St Edmund's, October 9, 1700.

⁵ S.P.C.K., WC a/1, April 1, 1708.

⁶ *Ibid.*

near the church, in very great want, lost all she had by the last fire in Wapping. 5s.¹

Mr Burgess a Taylor with a wife and 5 children . . . reduced to so great straits that they had nothing to eat but a few spratts that one of the girles found on a dunghill. Lodges at a Barbers in the first court in Newgate Street. 5s.²

In *An Account of the Methods whereby the Charity-Schools have been Erected and Managed*, published in 1704, the purpose is stated as being 'For the Education of Poor Children in the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion, as profess'd and taught in the Church of England; And for teaching them such other things as are most suitable to their Condition.' That children, even those likely to be influenced by that dangerous quality known as 'enthusiasm,' should not be educated above their proper station in life was of course, by standards of the century, important. Else would the practical purpose of the schools, 'to make Children . . . fit for Services or Apprentices,' be defeated. In the early years of the schools in London and Westminster, as soon as the boys could read competently well, they were taught 'to write a fair legible Hand, with the Grounds of Arithmetick.' The girls, once they too could read, were taught 'to knit their stockings and gloves, to Mark, Sew, make and mend their Cloathes, some to learn to write, and some to spin their Cloathes.'

In order to appeal for support for the Charity schools—rapidly organized on a basis of local interest and subscription—practical considerations as well as religious ideals had to be emphasized. That children were destitute of the common necessities of life, knowledge of religion, and opportunity to learn an honest trade would, and did, untie the purse-strings of the pious and philanthropic men and women of eighteenth-century England. But many people whose wealth gave them opportunity were convinced that the well-being both of the State and of individuals was bound up with clearly defined social distinctions. The Charity child must, while he became a good Christian, also become fitted to be a good servant. There was more than a slight risk that the study of such accomplishments as fine needlework, singing, or even good writing for girls, might raise a child above such station, and 'unto a more

¹ S.P.C.K., WC a/1, April 1, 1708.

² S.P.C.K., WC a/1, January 18, 1711.

polite kind of education.¹ Isaac Watts could write with feeling that:

*The prisoner leaps to lose his chains,
The weary find eternal rest,
And all the sons of want are blest.*

But until conscience stirred men to create in an age of reason also an age of benevolence, nothing was done for the miserable debtors in the Fleet and Marshalsea, the underfed apprentice and the overworked servant, and the poor mother frozen to death on her milking stool.

Richard Steele, who wrote two letters on the work of the Charity Schools in *The Spectator* in 1712, felt that here was an opportunity of trying out the advanced ideas on education which he himself advocated. The hindrance of parents in the work of the Grammar Schools was, he felt, considerable. Children, no matter what their educational ability, were all given the same tasks and expected to perform them equally well. The parents could not consider the possibility that their off-spring might not be capable of work of 'genius' equal, if not superior, to their neighbours. In the Charity schools Steele felt that because this social snobbishness did not exist it was perhaps possible to measure the task to the child's ability. Whether or not such an advanced theory found any measure of acceptance is doubtful, but it did mean that Steele continued to be interested in the teaching in the Charity schools. In 1714 when four thousand Charity children were marched to St Sepulchre's, Holborn, Henry Newman described the scene to Steele.

Sir, When you are at leisure to bestow a service on the Charity schools you will very much oblige ye well wishers to them. I am sure you would have been pleas'd to have been at St Sepulchre's yesterday where you would have seen above 4 thousand Childn. in their best Cloathes at their Devotions whilst a Prelate read prayers, and another Prelate Preached.²

But the Committee who had the welfare of the children at heart

¹ Directions given by Edmund, Lord Bishop of London, to the Masters and Mistresses of the Charity Schools within the Bills of Mortality and Diocese of London assembled for that Purpose in the Chapter House of St Paul's, November 14, 1724.

² S.P.C.K. Letters, CS 2/4, May 21, 1714.

knew that the Charity schools, if they were to touch the reason and open the purses untouched by pity, must show how education, religious as well as secular, would assist in the general prosperity of the nation.

The great Riches of any Nation flow from the industrious and working Hands in it; 'tis these that carry on the variety of useful Arts and Manufacturers, that make Riches flow in upon any people; and therefore who ever takes People out of an idle, vagrant state, or prevents their being in such a state, and puts them in the way of work and industry, is a great Benefactor to the Publick. . . . To conclude . . . if the world sees a publick spirit in the thing, if they see the Children well instructed, and well looked after, and the whole managed with Care and Integrity, Charity will not be wanting.¹

But there were not wanting those who hoped for a better and fuller life for the children being rescued from the streets and educated in the Charity schools. Henry Newman, the Secretary of S.P.C.K., had the courage to write in 1722:

To Mr John Chamberlayne.

It is not to be wonder'd at, that a footman or a postillion's place should be fill'd with more difficulty when 30 thousand of the dregs of the nation (it might be said 4 times that number since the first institution of Charity schools) are drawn into a life of better views. . . . And those that will have 4 footmen and a postillion to attend 'em whenever they go abroad I hope may be enabled by the growing wealth of the nation to send to France and Germany for 'em when they can no longer find any in England that will devote themselves to so insipid a life. Every waterman's boy stands fairer to serve his country more usefully than any Duke's footman. . . .²

But what do we know of the children themselves? Tens of thousands of them in the Charity schools that spread rapidly from the cities of London and Westminster to the counties in the length of England and Wales. To begin with they were in need—it goes without saying—of the barest necessities of life. 'Rags and Tatters' was the literal description of the shreds of cloth which covered their thin bodies. It was important that the children in the schools should be neatly dressed, not only was it an inducement for the parents' consent to their education but also an advertisement of the

¹ Sermon by Dean of Lincoln, June 8, 1704, S.P.C.K. *Society's Reports*, 1704–14.

² S.P.C.K. Letters, CS 2/12, December 15, 1722.

good work being done when they were seen walking in disciplined order in the streets. The materials used must be of the coarse sort suited to their station in life, and the colours uniformly subdued, but within these limitations there was certain variety. In some schools the children wore green, some grey, some blue, and in at least one case, after hints perchance of disloyalty to the House of Orange, the children wore orange coats. In some cases they knitted their own socks, in others they wove the cloth for their coats. Later it was found advisable for the Charity children to wear badges distinguishing one school from another. The cost of outfits about 1710 was 15s. 1d. for a boy, and 12s. 10d. for a girl. These figures were for a child in London.¹ The boy wore pewter buttons on his coat of grey Yorkshire broadcloth, and his breeches were of cloth or leather, lined. His cap, with tuft and string, was knitted; and both boy and girl wore buckles on their shoes which cost 1d. The girl had her gown and petticoat made from three yards and a half of blue long ells, 'about' a yard wide, at 16d. per yard. Her coif and band were of Scotch-cloth plain, with a border, and her bodice and stomacher were of leather. A footnote to the cost of this uniform states that 'the different Stature of Children is allowed for in this Account; and 50 Children between the Ages of 7 and 14 (one with another) may be cloathed at this Rate in London.'

In the account of the methods whereby the Charity schools should be governed, it was advised that the Master ought to permit holidays three times a year only, 'namely at the usual Festivals, but not oftener, and by no means during Bartholomew-Fair, for fear of any Harm by the ill Examples and Opportunities of Corruption at that Season,' an additional note indicated that such a rule must, in the case of the children at Cambridge, be applied to the period of the Sturbridge Fair. A tabulated list was kept of the various reasons why children were absent, one space for 'tardy,' another for 'absent,' and other columns for such offences as lying, stealing, and swearing. 'T' signified playing truant, 'p.c.' was marked for playing in church, 'a.c.' absent from church, and the list was so arranged that at a glance it could be observed whether the fault had been committed in the fore or afternoon.² Examinations appear to have begun at five in the evening, and in many

¹ S.P.C.K., *Society's Reports*, 1710, p. 54.

² Appendix, S.P.C.K., *Society's Reports*, 1710, p. 53.

schools to have been held about four times a year, although in some they were held more frequently.¹

In the country schools modifications in the general pattern were sometimes made in order to suit local conditions. At Bromsgrove in Worcestershire the unusual practice was adopted that the children should be taught, as well as English, the Greek and Latin tongues 'that some of the Children should be fitted for the University.'² At Blewbury in Berkshire the children all wore green. At Holms Chappel in Cheshire a benefactor left provision for each child to have 10d. of bread every Lord's Day, and that they should be bought blue coats and caps. Each boy when he could read was to have the present of a Bible.³ At Kirkleatham in Cleveland, Yorkshire, the school-master was to have the unusually large salary of one hundred pounds per annum under the will of Sir William Turner, Knight, Lord Mayor of London.⁴ Newbury, Berkshire, took a personal interest in the children, and a number of them were clothed by private benefactors. Not only could children be more easily recognized in their uniform but their behaviour could also be observed. Part of the collection taken at the offertory at the monthly Sacrament was appropriated to the use of the Charity school, and this custom was increasingly observed elsewhere.⁵ In the school at Newland in Gloucestershire one of the girls was so appreciative of being taught to read that when she went home she taught her grandfather also.⁶

An unusual method of levying subscriptions was adopted in Shoreham in Kent, where 'Subscribers of Ability' who had no children of their own were asked to give 10, 20 or 40 shillings a year, while those who had children of their own were asked to subscribe more than the teaching of their own children would come to, 'that the Master may have such an Income as he may afford to teach all the Children of the Poor gratis, which the Benefactors have agreed with him to do.'⁷ At Stamford in Lincolnshire children were employed as well as taught, and learned to spin jersey as well as to read. Of a total in 1710 of 100 poor children, about a quarter were clothed, lodged, and maintained in the school, and the rest supplied with 'Wheels, Reels, Fire and Candles.'⁸ At Wotton-under-

¹ Appendix, S.P.C.K. Society's Reports, 1710, p. 58.

² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Edge in Gloucestershire it must have been difficult to persuade parents to dispense with the children's earnings, for during the period they were at school, parents of seven of the boys received four pounds per annum.¹

At Egham in Surrey there was much concern, as elsewhere, for the putting out of boys as apprentices, and in 1707 a kindly gentleman bequeathed fifty pounds per annum 'for ever' for the putting out of five poor boys of the parish as apprentices every year.² Such record of benefaction is often to be seen on tablets in churches on both sides of the Thames, such as those in St Mary's Parish Church, Battersea, 'by the Lady St John for apprenticing poor boy or girl,' 1704.

Wales too made a notable contribution towards the work done by Charity schools, and in Carmarthen several charitable persons contributed to the teaching of poor children, and one gave houses not only for the school and for the schoolmaster but another for the use of the clergy as a library.³ And at Llangadock also in Carmarthenshire a Charity school was set up by 'the Bishop, Free-holders, and Inhabitants,' the subscription being about thirty pounds per annum.⁴

Medical treatment in the early eighteenth century was mainly experimental, but at least there appears to be sufficient evidence to show that the Charity school children were given the benefit of the experiment. For a child with ague or malaria Dr Swift mentions that a remedy likely to be efficacious is 'a live spider put into a goose quill, well-sealed and secured and hung about the child's neck as low as the pit of the stomach.' And where special need arose there were those who cared for the health of the Charity child. The schools in Bath were well supported by the gentry who came seeking health and entertainment, and philanthropic men like Robert Nelson, one of the early members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, took a personal interest in the affairs of the schools and of the problems of the masters. On one occasion Henry Newman, Secretary of the Society, received a letter from Mr H. Dixon, at Bath, giving an account of the progress he had been able to make regarding 'the poor Child design'd for Bath on

¹ Appendix, S.P.C.K. *Society's Reports*, 1710, p. 42.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 45. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

acct. of a distemper.' And a fortnight later a further letter tells how, 'The poor Charity Child came safe to town last Friday. That he had him ex.ed. by the Physicians and Surgeons, that it is their opinion Bathing will rather hurt him than do him good, that he is taken care of and his Physick allow'd him gratis.'¹

From Mr John Leason at Bath a letter was received by Mr Robert Nelson concerning the schools in which he took so keen an interest. 'Since the Charity schools have been erected in the city,' he writes, 'the Schoolmasters and Mistresses have reformed the Manners of the Town Children, and that the whole behaviour of the Town is much amended.' He gives particular account of the funeral of a Mrs Burkett—probably a benefactor of the schools—at which the Charity children attended:

and had each a pair of Gloves with a Wax taper given them which added much to the Solemnity. That the Washhouse and Brewhouse being finished, the Girls were that day brewing for Mrs Bell as they would next week for Mr Dixon. That Mr Bushel at The Tuns has sent a Wagon Load of Coals, and will send another next week.... That the Master of the Rolls and all his family have been very kind to the Schools.²

Doubtless the health of the children who came into the Charity schools had been already undermined by lack of adequate food and clothing, and many parents who understood a little of the benefits of education could and did realize that for food and uniform for their children they must try to bear the loss of earning or begging ability. Where schools were too small or too poor to offer clothing, there was little inducement for families to spare valuable bread-winners. In Wales the poverty of many of the country people created this considerable hindrance to education. On March 31, 1715, Mr Hum. Jordan writes from Glasbury, Brecknockshire, thanking the Secretary of the S.P.C.K. for the packet of books, and telling him that fifty children were being taught in different parts of the wide parish. He emphasizes that many parents would be glad to have their children taught, but 'they are not able to find them victuals and cloaths, except they stay at home to do some work, or go out to beg,' adding that as the subscriptions to the school were small they could not undertake to 'compass the cloathing of them.'³

¹ S.P.C.K. CRI/17, Nos. 12405, 12425. November 13, 1723.

² S.P.C.K., A.L.B. 4a, No. 3729, November 5, 1713.

³ S.P.C.K., CRI/6, No. 4325.

Public taste was not squeamish in eighteenth-century England, and many of the children were rescued from horrid occupations. The hangings at Tyburn were a gruesome enough spectacle by all accounts, but that which followed is almost more revolting. Henry Newman, Secretary of the S.P.C.K., wrote on May 18, 1723, to Colonel Drysdale, Governor of Virginia:

Counsellor Layer . . . was yesterday executed at Tyburn, and his head was this morning set up at Temple Barr, his quarters being given to his relations by the indulgence of the Government. While his bowels were on the coals some of the mobb scrambled for his heart, etc., and the black guard boys took that occasion to retale his entrails, and 2d. was given for a piece of his liver as big as a pea, which I suppose was first got at some butcher's shambles.¹

But Newman himself appears as a kindly man devoted to the education and reclamation of poor vagrant children, and a few years later he wrote to a friend in Stroud: 'The Charity children throughout the kingdom, and my canary birds with my cat and her kitten, supply the place of children as they engross so much of my time to take care of them.'²

From the beginning the work of the Charity schools met with Royal favour and interest. Queen Anne gave her gracious support to so good a cause, and when later Whig interest saw the political possibilities as well as the social implications of the education of the children of the poor, Royal favour was again bestowed. Henry Newman wrote a detailed description to a friend in Hanover of the arrival of the new king in 1714, and how the Charity children witnessed the scene.

This day . . . His Majestie arriv'd in the Peregrine Yatch . . . at Gravesend the Mayr. & Aldermen went on bord in their Formalities with a very loyal address & had ye honour to kiss his Majties. & ye Princes hands. As they advanced up with ye Tyde the King being now in his own Barge & ye Prince in another Royal Barge it was the most beautiful scene in ye world to see so many watermen . . . filling the river with foam & the air with shouts. . . . A cloath being laid up the Stairs the King went up . . . while the guns at ye Tower & in ye River near London roar'd like thunder. . . . Soon after ye King landed it grew dark . . . and I return'd that night to London and had

¹ S.P.C.K., Private Letters 1723.

² S.P.C.K., Private Letters 1727.

ye pleasure to see the ships illuminated with Lanthorns, & every garret window & alley even in Wapping and Southwark garnish'd with Candles so ye might have seen to read there as at Noon Day.... The Royal Entry was on Monday ye 20th. curt... and tho' His Majtie. set out from Greenwich about noon, it was 7 before he reach'd to St James's. The Charity Childn. made a goodly appearance in St Paul's Church Yard, wch. the King and Prince were extremely pleas'd with, so yt. His Highness said he never saw any thing so fine, and yt. he only wish'd he had had his own Childn. with him to see 'em at ye same time.¹

When the children had passed through their years of education in the Charity schools they were placed, in many cases by the kindness of private benefactors, as apprentices or in service. The age at which they were considered to be ready for such placing varied from school to school, but twelve years appears to have been fairly general. When the Reverend George Whitefield dined with the Trustees at the Cyder House, however, he complained that Causton took seven-year-old children from the Orphan House School, and sent them to work.² And the age limits for servants in the Colonies is an interesting glimpse of public opinion in the eighteenth century; servants who came to Georgia should be, it was stated, between the ages of twelve and forty.³ While among the many charitable activities of General Oglethorpe was that in 1724 he was among those who examined a petition from the Company of Wherrymen, Watermen, and Lightermen of the Thames for power to control such abuses as the taking of boys under sixteen years of age as apprentices.⁴

Both boys and girls found places in the great houses of England, and there conditions of work were probably largely governed by the temper of the upper servants. But they had at least food and clothing, and if they had learned well their lesson at school that 'It is a sin to steal a pin,' they could be assured of steady employment, and an opportunity of going home with the apprentices on Mothering Sunday. Nor was it only white children who were in demand in the great houses of the eighteenth century. The Lord Bishop of London received, in October 1727, an offer which we

¹ S.P.C.K. Letters, CS 2/4, p. 64.

² Egmont's Diary, vol. iii.

³ P.R.O., C.O., 5/690, May 11, 1737.

⁴ Journal of House of Commons, vol. xx.

have no reason to believe was not warmly accepted. Henry Newman wrote to his Lordship from his house at the Middle Temple:

My Lord,

Having a present made to me of a good natured little Black Boy native of Jamaica, a beauty of his kind, but not christen'd, I have accepted of him upon condition I may have leave to make a present of him to yr. Ldp. in acknowledg'mt. of Yr. great tenderness to the souls of the race of Negroes.

If I have such leave by the Bearer or otherwise, he shall be deliver'd at Whitehall or Fulham free of any Charge to yr. Ldp.
by, My Ld,
Yr. Lordship's...¹

Religious education according to the Church of England was the primary purpose of the foundation of the Charity schools, and the great processions of children who attended such anniversary services as were arranged during a century and a half, or who were gathered to witness such public occasions for rejoicing as the Treaty of Utrecht, impressed the public and encouraged further support for so excellent a cause.

It is only rarely, however, that, among the great masses of Charity children reclaimed from poverty and vice, we find individual children mentioned by name such as Jane Hughs and Thomas Noland, for whose financial liability, continued existence, and good behaviour sponsors made themselves responsible.

We whose names are under written do hereby severally oblige ourselves to become engaged for the restitution of the Charity Cloathes, etc., of such children against whom our names are respectively subscribed, or pay the sum of twenty shillings on demand if they Dye or are Dismiss'd the School on any occasion whatsoever, to Henry Hoare, Esq., Treasurer of the Charity Schools of St Dunstan in the West London, or to any one whom he shall appoint.

Sponsors Names.

Children's Names.

Peter Harding at ye Hen & Chickens,

Jane Hughs

in Fleet Street, Victualer, sponser for

Samuel Heble, Bookseller at ye Turks Head,

Thomas Noland.²

in Fleet Street, sponser for

A. M. D. HENDERSON-HOWAT

¹ S.P.C.K. Letters, CS 2/10.

² S.P.C.K. Copies of Wills and other legal documents, 1708-30, p. 25.

THE FUTURE OF FIJI

THE ancient and enchanted world of Stevenson and Lawrence is turning from dream to nightmare according to the Burns Report on Fiji, British Administrative and strategic centre in the Western Pacific.¹

The modern history of these islands highlights the tragic fact that the road to colonial hell can be paved by the best intentions: for the present administration is suffering from the wholly unwitting sins of its idealistic forefathers.

When Thakombau and his fellow-chiefs acceded to the Empire in 1874, after two previous offers had been refused by the un-colonial-minded British Government, it was emphasized and embodied in official correspondence and the Deed of Cession that sovereignty but not soil was ceded, 'lest the people become strangers in their own country.' Sir Hercules Robinson, who conducted the negotiations, and successive Governors, year after year, have emphasized the right and importance of their land to the Fijian people; they still own 83·6 of the total. In 1945, for instance, the Governor's address again stressed the pre-war view: 'Your land is the greatest asset of your race and you hold it in trust for posterity. If the Fijian loses his land, then the Fijian race will be destroyed.'

Because this link between land and local culture was deliberately maintained, the Fijians were able to continue their traditional way of life, modified by a degree of Christianity, peace, and the paternal umbrella of British protection. But because of their landownership Fijians were not available as labour to develop European landholdings acquired before 1874. To work the sugar plantations, a monopoly organized by the Australian-based Colonial Sugar Refining Company, some forty to fifty thousand East Indians were brought in. When the system of indentured labour was abolished in 1916, the majority elected to remain as Company tenants, or as sugar contractors on the short-term leases allowed in Fijian lands. (A Company settlement scheme rather on Russian collective lines

¹ Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Natural Resources and Population Trends in the Colony of Fiji, 1959. C.P. 1/60.

failed, since the peasants could not be persuaded to work a communal timetable.) This remarkable experiment in economic partnership deserves at least as much publicity as the similar Gezira cotton scheme, organized later in the Sudan. Its very success, however, meant that the Indian cane farmer prospered and multiplied. Today, at nearly 200,000 and increasing fast, Indians outnumber the native Fijian by over 30,000 and press heavily and covetously on his lands. Thrifty and acquisitive, like the Jews in similar circumstances, they hold an increasing economic stake in Fiji, in trade, and the professions; but they are denied, except in very small measure, the ultimate prestige of land.

The result of British efforts to practise the Dual Mandate is that Fiji now not only faces the common colonial problems of the twentieth century: overpopulation in relation to available resources and perilous dependence on the export of a few primary products (sugar, copra, bananas); she has a problem peculiarly her own, explosively and inextricably entwined. There is an increasing pressure of an alien majority on native land, with all the concomitant racial and political hazards involved.

The Burns Report has dealt efficiently with Fiji's economic problems in over a hundred recommendations concerning industrial and agricultural development, administrative reform, and family planning. With complete realism it is recognized that trade, agriculture, and industry must be rapidly increased to avoid ruin, and that a modern economy must mean the unsentimental sacrifice of tradition as the lesser evil, since 'custom and culture are of their essence changeable.' Each section of the community is constructively castigated: the Administration for continuing a course of negative paternalism instead of facing the urgent necessity of economic planning. Fijians are told that their duty to develop their lands for the benefit of the community must outweigh the right to sit on them for the benefit of the unborn. Indians are encouraged to grow diverse crops instead of relying on the easy profits of sugar, since the market is becoming saturated. Unnecessary imports must be abolished, such as fish and timber, which could easily be produced at home. The Japanese are, in fact, doing exceedingly well fishing near Fijian waters. With a growing rice-eating community it would seem absurd that rice acreage should have shrunk by five thousand acres during the past ten years. Indeed, as the Report

somewhat acidly remarks: 'unless a breath of realism is introduced into government policy . . . the economy of Fiji will be in a parlous state.' Yet its sober conclusion was that even if all the recommended reforms were carried out, it would still be difficult to maintain the existing standard of life, since a minimum of 3½ per cent. increase in national income every year is necessary to keep pace with estimated population growth.

The Burns Report could not, by its terms of reference, examine fully all the racial and political factors which lurk behind its every statement. The British Administration is therefore left with the basic problem, which has been recognized as such in reports for many years. What effect would the present recommended changes in Fijian land tenure and use have on Fijian society and the multi-racial society evolving on the islands; and will the Fijian people permit this change?

Fijian customary land tenure is complicated and diverse even on African and Asian standards. It is also bound up in the whole social fabric, so that if one changes the other may tear. Early observers, from administrators like Basil Thompson and Pritchard to missionaries like Cargill, agree on this point with modern anthropologists. Contact with the West has already involved some decay and simplification in custom, but two main principles remain: land is communally held (the mataqali is the normal landholding unit); and it is inalienable. According to Fijian tradition—'A gele sa nodra na veitoravi'—the land belongs to the successive generations and is held in trust. Two social customs arising from the system cause difficulty to-day: 'lala,' communal and personal service to village and chief; and 'kere-kere,' the individual's lien on communal property ('vei tavu' is a village form of kere-kere). Once an admirable system of mutual aid, which, under the controls of a primitive society, protected the weak and unfortunate, it now enables the idle to batten on the thrifty, on a 'what's yours is mine' basis which wrecks every attempt at initiative. Both Government Ordinances and the Council of Chiefs have encouraged commutation of service and a degree of individual land tenure; but tradition dies hard and the Fijian is a generous, sociable, and co-operative creature rather than an economic individualist. The development of co-operative enterprise, of which there are several; the registering of mataqalis as landholding corporations are methods by which the

Fijian might make a painless transition to modern life. He could have developed along the successful lines of Tongan and Samoan society, without the decay manifest in Nauru, that temporary lotus-land of the Pacific, which is suffering severely from an excess of welfare created by the British Phosphates Company operating there. But for the ubiquitous Indian this might have come about. It is hard for the British, responsible for his presence, not to be haunted by Hawaii and the spectre of Fijian tribal life totally degenerated to shoddy tourist attraction. (As an important port of call in trans-pacific traffic, Fiji is already infected by the industry.)

Fijian leaders have always been aware of the problem which an immigrant population might create. As far back as 1888 the Council of Chiefs made a courteous enquiry, since 'their numbers are increasing,' and 'without wishing to seem inhospitable . . . Indian customs are different from those of Fiji.' There has been continued determination that Indians should have no control of their lands, whether directly, or indirectly through a Common Roll and resultant political power. Acceptance of Crown control and development has been accepted largely as a defence against Indian pressure. That fear for their land is not lessened is obvious from the number of Fijian witnesses before the Burns Commission who demanded Indian deportation.

Indians, equally British subjects and largely born in the colony, base their claims to be considered as a permanent part of it on Lord Salisbury's promise in 1875 that they should have rights 'in no whit inferior' to those of other races. This, state their leaders, is as sacrosanct as other British promises to the Fijians and should give them adequate political and economic rights. It is obvious that pressure along these lines could create a Palestinian situation. Yet any land reform, which can only be in Indian favour, might make the Fijian feel betrayed by the Government he relies on and to which he has been intensely loyal. The situation is not helped by the fact that the Fijians have a magnificent war record; few Indians joined the armed forces and the mid-war sugar strike caused serious economic loss. It merely gives substance to Indian fears that Fijians might well copy Indian and African nationalists by using force to maintain their ancient rights once British control is removed.

First reactions to the Burns Report have, naturally enough, been hostile from Fijians, favourable from Indians, and indifferent from

Europeans. The Government in Fiji has advertised for written opinions to be sent in and no official pronouncements are likely to be made until after the autumn meetings of the Legislative Council and the Council of Chiefs. The most widely accepted recommendations, unofficially, seem to be those dealing with family planning, financial aid, and economic development. The social effects of the introduction of secondary industries are seen to be extremely important both as an outlet for the de-tribalized, urban Fijian and as a way of raising the status of Indian women; for the different sexual outlook of the two peoples is a latent cause of racial conflict.

Among some Europeans there is the opinion that the Report is over gentle towards the Indian community, whose peasant outlook and cane obsession can cause as much difficulty as Fijian fecklessness. (However, the successful transference of 8,000 acres to rice, since the Colonial Sugar Refining Company closed Nausori Mill in 1959, bodes well.) It is also felt that the future depends on Fijian reaction to being no longer the separate and sacrosanct section of the community; for the fact remains, however presented, that Fijians are being asked for a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice not demanded of others, to solve a problem not of their creation. Is it enough that their loyalty should be its own reward, while troublesome communities are granted more concrete considerations? And can Fijian leaders persuade their people to surrender ancient rights?

Since the death of Sir Lala Sukuna neither race has thrown up a leader and trade union demagogues have not helped. The Suva riots in December 1959, though economic rather than racial in origin, were indicative of dormant danger and dominant fears. If, to copy Mr Macmillan's famous phrase, the winds of economic change in Fiji are not to blow up into a ruinous racial hurricane, the solution of their social and political implications is vital, not only to the Pacific but to multi-racial society everywhere.

M. MORTIMER

THE ACCESSION AND EARLY YEARS OF GEORGE III

ON Saturday, October 25, 1760, John Wesley briefly recorded in his journal: 'King George was gathered to his fathers. When will England have a better Prince?' Dismissing George II in these lapidary sentences, Wesley passed on to other topics, making no mention of the old king's grandson and successor. But on that day George III began a reign which became the second longest in English history and whose span was to include fundamental and revolutionary changes in habits of thought—abroad as well as at home—all the way from Dr Johnson to Karl Marx, born in 1818.

The first impressions made by the twenty-two-year-old king on his subjects were favourable. Approving eyes noted that George resembled a typical Englishman in appearance and demeanour. Tall and strongly built, his open ruddy countenance expressed kindness and good humour; Horace Walpole was impressed by the new monarch's dignity and obliging manners. 'He cannot be so unfeeling, so avaricious, or so German as his grandfather,' he wrote. Almost at once George gave proof of his good nature when he told the Duke of Cumberland that he would begin a new custom by living on good terms with all his family—a hope, alas, that was largely unfulfilled! Moreover, he spoke English as his mother tongue. Since the death of Queen Anne forty-six years before, the nation had undergone the novel experience of two successive monarchs, one of whom could not speak it at all, and the other only with a strong guttural accent. And, unlike his predecessors, George's interests were centred in the affairs of England and not in those of Hanover. He never visited his German patrimony, and in the absence of personal knowledge the links binding him to the electorate became tenuous.

The king had passed a comparatively sheltered life prior to his accession. The grandfather took scant notice of his grandson's upbringing, which had been the charge of his mother, the widowed Princess of Wales. It has been generally believed that she and Lord Bute were the sources from which he derived his immovable convictions of the essential rightness of his future royal powers and prerogatives; teachings that the princess reinforced by her reiterated

cry of, 'George be King.' How far these counsels were of mischievous effect—how much they have suffered distortion from the hostility of Whig partisanship, and in what degree the king was in fact justified in subsequent assertions of his regal authority—is a current question among historians. One result of their assiduous polishing of the tarnished political filigree of 1760 has been to clear George of his rusty reputation of being no more than blinkered, stupid, and obstinate, a label bestowed on him by some earlier historians. Nevertheless Lord Waldegrave's opinion of the influence of the Princess of Wales' circle points to an over-sheltered and too one-sided an existence. It was a misfortune for George that his offer to serve in the army in 1759 had come to nothing. Experience gained in the great continental campaign of that year would have matured him earlier, and he might in consequence have avoided the precipitous mistakes and consequent unpopularity of the early years of his reign.

The Prince of Wales' tutors had instructed him in French and German, both of which he spoke fluently, while leaving him ignorant of Latin and Greek. His mother admitted that 'his education had given her much pain,' though she does not appear to have had much voice in it. In her view he was a good-natured cheerful boy, serious and difficult to know, 'but with those he was acquainted with, applicable and intelligent.' Nature had endowed him with a solid rather slow mind, whose overclouding in later years may have been due to the constitutional nervous excitability which marked the dynasty. With considerable insight into the characters of those about him went much shrewdness in assessing their motives. Strictly honest and conscientious, the defect of these qualities was the obstinacy with which George clung pertinaciously to courses of action which he had concluded were the right ones. His moral categories and manner of life were firmly grounded in religious beliefs, whose sincerity was never questioned. His subjects learnt of their new sovereign's temperate disciplined life, his fidelity in word and promise, and unremitting attention to the duties of his state. It was a matter of surprise to his contemporaries when, after riding from Windsor or Kew in all weathers and attending to public affairs all day, the king ate and drank no more than cups of tea and a plateful of bread and butter. Abstemiousness became a life-long habit when, after commenting on the Duke of Cumberland's stout-

ness, the king recommended strenuous exercise as a cure. The Duke answered that, though he had always led an active life, the condition was hereditary and that the only remedy 'was in great renunciation and temperance.'

In common with all members of the dynasty George possessed courage in a high degree. He was invariably calm in the presence of danger, and many years later his firm suppression of the Gordon riots showed the mettle of his resolute leadership in a national crisis. In normal times his temperament inclined him to tranquil avocations, such as the study of mechanics. He had no partiality for field sports, and preferred to spend his leisure poring over models of dockyards and the latest designs for the improvement of ship-building. This was secondary, however, to his enduring love of agriculture and all that pertained to it. George studied with zest all the new ideas for land reclamation. He gave earnest attention to trial schemes of field drainage. He was interested in experimental researches for the improvement of the quality of fleeces and the best method of growing swedes. In that golden age of cultivation, the king's unflagging devotion became a strong link binding him affectionately to his rural subjects. They saw him as 'Farmer George,' engrossed in the national enthusiasm which numbered even Chatham among its ardent supporters. For was not the latter enchanted by his ownership of 'the most beautiful of sows,' when in retirement at Burton Pynsent he turned farmer?

Though a frequent target for the malevolence of caricaturists who ridiculed the king's homely enjoyment of roast mutton and boiled turnips, their wit failed to shake the image his countrymen formed of him, which found expression over sixty years later in Byron's line: 'A better farmer ne'er brush'd dew from lawn.'

George heard the news of his accession from Pitt, and the following day Parliament was prorogued until November 13. His first public act was to issue a Proclamation on October 31 'for the encouragement of Piety and Virtue, and for prosecuting and punishing of Vice, Profaneness, and Immorality.' Invoking two earlier statutes which had been passed with similar intentions, magistrates were enjoined strictly to enforce their provisos. The announcement met with general approval, and the public was further gratified by the sentence inserted personally by the king in his speech to the Houses of Parliament: 'Born and educated in this country, I glory in the

name of Briton.' Members detected the hand of Bute in the appellation 'Briton,' and his pervading influence was apparent in some words of George's declaration to the Council which an apprehensive Pitt believed were critical of the conduct of the war. The Minister was obliged to deploy many arguments and use much persuasion before the favourite consented to their alteration. In what the late Mr Algernon Cecil styled 'the everlasting flux of opinion,' the precise aims of George III at his accession and his relations with his ministers are still matters of debate, notably in the question of the deleterious extent of Lord Bute's influence. At the time the fact of his being a Scot helped to weight the scales against him. Memories of the 1745 Rebellion were still vivid, and to sophisticated Englishmen Scotland was regarded as a kind of northern Afghanistan. Boswell's account of his first meeting with Dr Johnson vividly reveals the common attitude of hostility shown towards Scotsmen.

In the following year Walpole was writing that 'it is all royal marriages, coronations, and victories.' He speculated humorously on the likelihood of national insolvency following on the expense of ammunition for salvos from the park artillery which never had time to cool. Negotiations for the king's marriage had been opened after Colonel Graeme, who had been sent round the northern courts on an official mission to find a suitable queen, had reported in favour of Charlotte Sophia (1744–1818), daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. On July 9 the king ordered the impending event to be made public. Lord Harcourt left for Strelitz to escort the princess to the coast, while a detachment of the fleet sailed for Cuxhaven to bring her over in the yacht *Charlotte*, which had been specially decorated and gilt for the occasion. Harwich was reached on September 6 after an unexpectedly long voyage of ten days which the lively princess thoroughly enjoyed. Londoners were in a mood of prodigious curiosity and enthusiasm when she entered the capital during the afternoon of September 8. England had been without a queen since the death of George II's brilliant consort over twenty years before, and the citizens, delighted as always at the prospect of a royal marriage, greeted the seventeen-year-old princess with an orgy of acclamation as the coach rumbled to St James's. Here the king received her at the garden entrance. Later in the day they were married in the chapel, the veteran Duke of Cumberland giving the princess away.

The new queen made a favourable impression on those who could speak to her in French or German. Though pale and thin and not to be described as a beauty, her expression and address were amiable. She certainly showed readiness of manner, for after the wedding ceremony, and supper being late in coming, she delighted those present by her singing and her playing of the harpsichord. She knew little or no English at that time and conversation was carried on at supper in a mixture of French and German, wherein she and the king compared the dialects of the latter tongue.

The Coronation followed on September 22 and, judging from contemporary opinions, appears to have been an extraordinary mixture of magnificence and official muddle. The king, much vexed, sent afterwards for Lord Effingham, the acting Earl Marshal, and upbraided him vigorously for the negligence shown by his department. He pointed out that the non-observance and ignorance of the rules of precedence and resulting lack of order had been a primary cause of unnecessary delay and confusion. In face of the storm the Earl Marshal stammered out his sincere regrets, admitted that mistakes had been made, and went on to assure the king that measures had already been put in hand to ensure that *the next Coronation* would be efficiently conducted. The ingenuousness of the apology mollified George's anger. He roared with laughter and took pleasure in making Lord Effingham repeat it several times over.

From a combination of causes—one being the careless mislaying of the Sword of State—the start of the procession to the Abbey was delayed till noon. Later it was discovered and then rushed into the Abbey, where the Lord Mayor's Sword had been made to serve as substitute. The Coronation rites, where there was again much evidence of confusion, appear to have been very long, and darkness had fallen before the procession could re-form and file into Westminster Hall for the customary banquet which followed the ceremonial in the Abbey. Earlier in the day the officials fortunately had discovered that owing to their mismanagement chairs and canopies for the king and queen were lacking; these omissions had been hastily rectified by bringing in one and putting another together in the Hall. In spite of all mishaps, however, the general effect was splendid. Even Walpole, while airing his habitual affected strictures on courts and kings as of no more account than glorified follies and puppet shows, admitted that a coronation was more gorgeous than

he could have imagined and that the whole 'exceeded imagination.' He does not appear to have been present in the Abbey, though he recorded a curious and unexpected incident within its walls. The authorities had carefully provided the queen with a 'retiring chamber with all conveniences,' where, on her withdrawing thither, she discovered the head of the Government, the Duke of Newcastle, in prior occupancy of its smallest recess—that great exemplar of precedence and protocol having for once forgotten his own maxims!

Walpole's imagination was stirred when he surveyed the nobility of Westminster Hall in the light of thousands of candles, the lustrous glow of colour in uniforms and robes, the splendour of jewels. He thought Lord Errol the most striking figure at the banquet, recalling that, a few years before, his father, Lord Kilmarnock, had stood in the same hall to hear his death sentence pronounced. He heard about Lady Harrington's annoyance, when iridescent with diamonds (which Walpole believed she had hired or *stolen*) she found she was expected to walk with the sombre Lady Portsmouth, who wore a wig and carried a stick. The recipient of her complaints, George Selwyn, must have aggravated her further by dismissing them with, 'Pho! You will only look as if you was taken up by the constable.'

Thankful indeed must the harassed officials have been when all was over. The brunt of their troubles fell on the luckless Lord Steward, Lord Talbot, whose trials began in Westminster Hall with a tiff between him and the irate Knights of the Bath whose table he had had removed elsewhere. No sooner was this patched up than he had to endure angry remonstrances from the elder Beckford. The formidable alderman threatened that the Lord Steward would soon have cause for repentance if a table for the City of London was not forthcoming immediately. And Beckford had his way. Lord Talbot's chief misfortune came, however, in an episode which diverted Londoners for weeks. In association with the Champion, Lord Effingham, and the Duke of Bedford, one ceremonial duty prescribed his riding up the length of the Hall, and then, as he hoped, backing out the way he had entered. Walpole thought their performance deplorable. He excepted that of the Champion, who, mounted on George II's old charger, which he had ridden at Dettingen, proudly threw his gauntlet with a defiant flourish and rode away. Lord Talbot's lamentable part in that ancient tradition

was due to his horse. He had overschooled it, with the result that the animal insisted on entering rearwards, and in that position moving up towards the king and queen. All efforts to turn it were unavailing. The Lord Steward's colleagues came to his assistance, but their frantic attempts failed to induce the obstinate brute into a more seemly posture and Lord Talbot was obliged finally to admit defeat and ride out in a storm of derisive clapping.

Walpole sniffed at the incident. In his opinion such vulgar buffoonery was better suited to Bartholomew Fair, whose antics he equated with the ceremonial of a coronation. He informed his epistolary cronies that he had been greatly impressed by the size of the milling crowds, interspersing his observations with reflections on the current extravagance manifested in England. But in spite of the enormous cost of the war, it is unlikely that the spectators in the streets and round the Abbey thought about it on that day. The public, while anxious for peace, was doubly conscious that the four previous years had brought the nation new greatness overseas, and that British arms had proved themselves everywhere invincible. Under the direction of Pitt's genius the war had brought a succession of splendid victories. Plassey (1757), Minden (1759), Quebec (1759), Quiberon Bay (1759), Warburg (1760)—achievements which had transformed an earlier period of national dejection into solidly based assurance and confident strength.

And these successful campaigns had brought into prominence two renowned and well-loved characters whose humanity allied with their professional abilities won them enduring public affection. It may be affirmed of Lord Granby that he was the best loved general the British Army has ever known. Bald-headed, warm-hearted and profusely generous, his personal care for those who served under him brought him the unparalleled devotion of all ranks. It was said that he never passed a disabled soldier without giving him money. He undertook to supply the wounded with ample sufficiencies of food, wine, and medicaments. Any officer was made welcome to his table. The troops would follow him anywhere. They are believed to have coined the saying 'to go baldheaded at anything,' when, as he led the spirited charge at Warburg, they saw his lordship's hat and wig fly off. That did not stop Lord Granby. With the sound of guffaws of laughter from the squadrons behind him in his ears he forged ahead and personally breached the French line.

The same measure of affection bestowed by all who served with him—the appellation of ‘the sailor’s friend’—explains Lord Howe’s amiability of character. The ships he commanded were as conspicuous for their order, tranquillity, and the contentment of the crews as they were for the absence of indiscriminate harshness and brutality. The future Admiral was noted for the particular care he bestowed on the health and welfare of his seamen, and for the humanity of his system of discipline. After their release from service soldiers and sailors honoured their old chiefs with unsophisticated testimonials, some of which still survive. All round the coast freshly painted inn signs represented ‘Admiral Earl Howe’ in full uniform, and Lord Granby was commemorated in similar fashion. The hero of Warburg’s Churchillian features surmounted by the legend ‘Marquis of Granby’ was a familiar sight all over the country. And within the tavern walls for many a year both were the subjects of innumerable tap-room memories and anecdotes.

Exponent of a more developed art, Reynolds was the foremost portrait painter of the day. He had recently settled in new quarters not very far from Bolt Court, where Johnson was then existing in a state of near indigence. His pension did not come until 1762 and his first meeting with Boswell a year later.

The quality of King George’s court assumed gradually the homely domesticity for which it became respected throughout Europe. The king’s conscientious devotion to their interests and his personal example harmonized with the sober ideals of his subjects, whose solid affection obliterated earlier memories of youthful mistakes. At his accession Europe was to enjoy for nearly thirty years more a generally accepted idea of the structural form of civilization and bask in social equilibrium. Then, when the great break up came, destroying the pattern of the European tapestry and tearing its fabric to shreds, the English monarchy remained exactly where it was. The king’s habitual ejaculation, ‘What! What!’ soon became as familiar a sound on the sands of Weymouth as it was at Windsor. And Eton, still remembering his benevolent interest in the college, keeps a lasting memorial of him on his birthday—the Fourth of June.

S. D. KENNEDY

UP FROM THE SEA

THE scientist setting out to record the history of life on this planet is in the position of a historian called upon to deal with documents which, as well as being dog-eared, smudged, tattered, and faintly inscribed in themselves, are also fragmentary as a series, their continuity interrupted from time to time by wide gaps, in which events are unrepresented by written records. The scientist depends almost wholly on fossils, and the conditions under which creatures once living become embalmed by fossilization are comparatively rare. Once preserved in this way, they have to be found, collected, and classified, which means that of the small minority preserved only a further minority can be expected to play any part in the story. He has to contend with another problem, and here again his position is not unlike that of the chronicler of human affairs, who if interested in some remote period, soon finds that the farther back he goes the smaller the number and the greater the unreliability of available documents. Reaching back yet farther, he comes to a time for which there are no documents at all. He has crossed the frontier dividing history from prehistory.

In much the same way the palaeontologist has his own critical frontier, that which divides what he would probably call the biotic period from the pre-biotic, before the first living organism appeared. But he is in a much worse position than the historian, who does at least know that he is somewhere near the starting-point. The palaeontologist on the other hand finds that the earliest fossil-bearing rock-strata tell abundantly of forms of life already highly developed, ranging somewhere more than half-way up the ladder of life. With respect to the great stretch of time before that, he is confronted by an almost complete blank. His starting-point, his critical frontier, must be somewhere far back in the past, but there seems to be no way of getting there. It is as though the historian, still well within the frontier of the historical period, happily collating documents clearly inscribed on well-preserved vellum, were to find that they seem to appear suddenly out of nowhere, that documents of a more primitive kind covering earlier periods, if they ever existed, have all been destroyed.

The earliest fossil-bearing strata known to the palaeontologist are those of the Cambrian Period, laid down some five hundred million years ago. They prove beyond doubt that the seas of that far-off day teemed with living creatures. Out of what must be a very much greater number, some two thousand species have been found and named. All are invertebrates, but even so the fact that more than half of them belong to the most highly developed phylum of back-boneless animals, the arthropods, takes some explaining. This ruling dynasty of the Cambrian fauna are the trilobites, crustaceans remotely resembling wood-lice, but far bigger, three-lobed, provided with antennæ and compound eyes, and encased in a hard integument. As well as trilobites there were many kinds of univalve mollusc; many kinds of brachiopods or lamp-shells, outwardly resembling molluscs but inwardly quite distinct. There were crinoids or sea-lilies, related to the sea-urchin. There were worms, corals, and sponges. It is clear that evolution had already inscribed many chapters of its long and complicated story. Natural selection had been carrying out its exacting screening process for hundreds of millions of years.

Rocks laid down in earlier times, in what geologists in their admitted ignorance still designate vaguely as Pre-Cambrian, show scarcely any trace of life whatever. For this disconcerting fact there are two main reasons. Many of the lowlier forms of life are soft and jelly-like, so that it is not to be expected that they should leave traces. The other reason is that the rocks of Pre-Cambrian times were subjected over and over again to volcanic action, were radically metamorphosed by high temperatures and prodigious pressure. Fossils in these circumstances were certain to be contorted and crushed beyond recognition.

What this abrupt cessation of evidence for the existence of life before Cambrian times means to the palaeontologist is that his hope of being able to trace his way back to the beginnings of life is exceedingly slender. He has to stop short at a point far removed from the frontier dividing life from non-life. It means that one of the most vitally important of all biological problems, the manner in which life originated, may remain for ever insoluble. In the absence of evidence on which conclusions can be based, there remains little but speculation for what was beyond question the most momentous event in the whole history of our planet. It is the

How, the When, and the Where of life's origin that cannot fail to be of the deepest interest. The Why is a question of an entirely different order. Of the three it is the How that bristles most formidably with difficulties. The basic raw materials for life were water, the radiant energy of sunlight, oxygen, nitrogen, and carbon-dioxide. Of these there can have been no lack. From them, together with small quantities of elements such as sulphur, potassium, and phosphorus, in some inconceivably remote crucible of the primæval earth, complex molecules of protoplasm were slowly synthesized. When a number of these molecules became intimately linked and enclosed in some sort of membrane there arose a close approximation to what we now know as a living cell, having the gift of being able to reproduce itself by splitting into two complete living cells. The miraculous trick was turned.

The steps in the process are quite unknown, but it seems reasonable to suppose that many attempts were made, that because of some adverse influence most came to an end at one stage or another. Then, perhaps in a number of widely scattered places, the chain of events forged its last link, and there was born an infinitesimal speck of life, resembling possibly one of the simpler kinds of bacterium that we know to-day, or perhaps a virus. Whatever it was, it can have been neither a plant nor an animal, and it is likely that it lived directly on inorganic food. The paramount distinction between the two forms of life that now populate the earth can have been made only when chlorophyll appeared. Then, at what stage we can never know, the great road of life divided, one branch representing the green plants manufacturing their own food in the form of sugars and starches; the other representing animals, organisms that is to say having no such power, being required in consequence to live upon those which had.

As for When, it could have occurred at a very early period indeed, when the earth had cooled sufficiently for the vast vapour-clouds enshrouding it to condense into rain that would no longer flash back into steam when it met the surface. Those primordial rains were heavy and prolonged beyond anything we can well imagine. It was then that the ocean basins began to fill, and it may have been at that time, when the slow disintegration of the continents under the action of flowing water was beginning, and the salts of the land were being carried to the sea, that the vital synthesis

was achieved. At some critical stage, earlier than any represented by the oldest rocks now known, conditions were suitable, more so than at any time before or since. That suggests that the advent of life was a single, unique event, never to be repeated. Very probably it was, but we can never be sure. It may have been repeated over and over again, may even be going on as I write—an intriguing thought. It is not easy to see how we could be aware of the fact. There is a recent school of cosmologists who believe that matter is being created continuously throughout the universe. If matter in the universe, why not life upon earth?

As for the Where, it was supposed until fairly recently that life was born in the sea, and it has become something of a habit to look upon the sea as both the birthplace and the nursery of life. Nowadays there are respected authorities who challenge this view. The waters of the great oceans are and were of their very nature for ever turbulent, but it seems that static, calm conditions were essential for the crucible of life, so that the product of one stage could be preserved and concentrated for the next to get effectively to work. Another essential was some steady and reliable system of circulation, so that fresh materials could be brought into play. If then we are right in thinking of the sea as our birthplace, it must have been somewhere in the depths, far enough to be beyond the reach of agitation caused by waves, but not too far for sunlight to penetrate. Other authorities look to the land, to stagnant freshwater lagoons, or even to primitive soil layers, which can have been little more than accumulations of water-soaked rock-dust.

But wherever the momentous transformation took place, one thing seems certain. At a date still exceedingly remote, life, in its earliest stages, took to the sea. In that highly important sense the sea did become at least the nursery of life, did provide a wide, salty, oxygenated, circulating ambience in which life, having been born possibly elsewhere, could move and multiply, could evolve, until there arose that teeming multiplicity that swam in Cambrian waters, and that we find entombed in Cambrian rocks. This highly differentiated, highly developed fauna was wholly marine, nourished by primitive, one-celled plants, charged with chlorophyll. The Cambrian continents by contrast were naked, bleak, and forbidding beyond imagination, lifeless deserts of rock in platforms and corrugations, where nothing stirred or was vocal except the

lashing of rain, the swift coursing of rivers, and the long-drawn lamentations of the wind. There may well have been seaweeds mantling the rocks of the coast, but over the land itself no green blade, no leaf, yet served to mitigate its uncompromising harshness.

After that, at a time from our point of view still almost unimaginably remote, another step was taken, another event occurred in our eyes only less important than the birth of life itself. The land was invaded. Life came up from the sea. The Cambrian Period lasted for about a hundred million years. Then came the Ordovician, rather more than half as long. This was succeeded by the Silurian, and it was then that life first emerged from the sea. It was a two-fold invasion, on the one hand of plants, on the other of animals. Remains of the earliest known land plants, resembling the club-mosses of the present day, and of the earliest known animals, have both been found in Silurian rocks. All the same plants must have provided the vanguard by a wide margin, preparing the way, both for more highly developed plants and for animals, colonizing coast-wise levels, helping to retain moisture in pockets of rock-dust, contributing humus and so gradually building up organic soils from the products of their own decay.

As for the earliest known land animal, it was an eight-legged arthropod, closely resembling a scorpion. Exchanging by slow degrees one element for another, this creature was faced by the necessity to adapt itself to the breathing of free oxygen in the air, as opposed to oxygen dissolved in water. This would mean, eventually at any rate, a structural transition from gills to lungs, and it seems probable that *Paleophonus*, this bold pioneer, was a true breather of air. What caused this invasion? What desperate urge lay behind it? Was it scarcity of food, or bitter competition from other forms of life? These are questions not only difficult to answer but almost certainly not worth asking, based on a false conception. The word invasion is itself largely responsible, suggesting a host of creatures emerging simultaneously on dry land, an exodus from intolerable conditions. This is unlikely to say the least. What we should picture is a certain kind of animal, perhaps more than one kind, already accustomed to conditions transitional between air and water, becoming gradually adapted to more and more prolonged phases of exposure. This went on, until the time came when

it could exist comfortably at levels beyond the reach of even the highest spring tides. Enabled by that time to breathe free oxygen, it would have passed through a transitional phase when moistened and protected gills was a sufficient safeguard.

If there must remain a large measure of uncertainty as to how the change came about, we can at least point to circumstances that materially assisted. The Silurian Period was a time of widespread submergence of the land, of transgressing seas which lapped over the rim of oceanic basins and widely flooded the continents. It has been calculated, for instance, that as much as sixty per cent of North America lay for long stretches of time beneath epicontinental seas. But the time came when the waters very slowly withdrew, and that retreat, however gradual, must have caused the death by exposure of millions of creatures. Those already adapted to withstand phases of exposure would have the best chance of surviving. Among them, it is reasonable to suppose, the ancestors of land-dwelling animals would be found. So it was this pre-adaptation that gave the advantage, and how that came about is not difficult to see, since we see it for ourselves daily and rhythmically at the present time. This has been mentioned already and is of course the tide, which causes a zone of varying width along all the shores of the world to alternate twice daily between the extremes of a water and of a land environment. It was in the tidal zone that the necessary pre-adaptation could hardly fail to come about.

The rest of the story by which the land became populated with its present diverse host of living things is long and complicated, a matter of steady and at times almost explosive evolution, of advance and occasionally, so far as a water environment is concerned, of retreat. The rivers and lakes of the early world received some of their tenants from the sea, graduating by way of estuarine conditions; some from the land, when many of the insects, a vast tribe which owes almost nothing to the sea, took to living in fresh water. Certain fresh water fishes staged another and highly important emergence, when swamp-dwelling amphibians evolved. From them came reptiles, birds, and mammals. From among the mammals, those which were to become seals and whales went back to their remote ancestral element.

To return to that first, that Silurian, emergence from the sea, we can be the more confident that it took place in the way I have

described, because the process is going on to this day. Animals are still coming up from the sea to establish themselves on dry land, and we can see them in the act of doing so. This is not to say that the whole transformation can be observed. The mills of the natural world grind slowly, and our lives are far too short to span any such major evolutionary process. The most we can hope for is to find more than one kind of animal which has reached one stage or another in its emancipation from sea-water. What we see is a condition to all appearances static, as it might be a 'still' cut from a strip of cinema film. Speed up the film by some sorcery several hundred times, and the whole process would be revealed.

To find an example we need go no farther than almost any rocky shore in Britain. Here there are limpets by hundreds and acorn barnacles by tens of thousands. Both of these fundamentally different kinds of animal have adapted themselves admirably to prolonged periods of exposure, but there is little reason for thinking of them as creatures in the act of migrating from the one element to the other. To find what we are looking for go higher, to the uppermost limit of the shore, to the very cliffs that hem it in. There, snugly aligned in the long horizontal crannies, which are the weathered-out bedding-planes of the rock when it was laid down, minute univalve molluscs may be seen clinging in rows of up to twenty or more at a time. Their shells are scarcely a quarter of an inch in diameter, fitting closely into the cranny. There may very well be two distinct kinds, one nearly twice as big with a ribbed and roughened shell. Both are periwinkles, of the genus *Littorina*, both tenants of the splash zone, a level of the shore so high as to become moistened only by the highest spring tides, and of the two the smaller, *L. neritoides*, is usually found at a higher level. Both may be said to be creatures of the land, or very nearly, feeding chiefly off lichens which are plants of the land. Even more significant, unlike the periwinkles living at lower levels of the shore, both have acquired in the course of their migration an organ in structure and function like a true lung, capable that is to say of using the oxygen of the air. All the same their status is still transitional, for both kinds rely upon water when it comes to reproducing their kind. Their spawn is extruded into the sea, but there appears a highly interesting distinction in this respect between the two. The spawn of *neritoides* consists, as might be expected, of eggs which

hatch in sea-water; that of *rudis* on the other hand is made up of fully developed miniature editions of their parents, the result of internal fertilization and of growth from the egg within the body of the mother. This viviparity has obvious advantages in protecting the young from the hazards to which that of *neritoides* is exposed. Also it is an adaptation characteristic of dwellers upon land, which means that *rudis* is one important step ahead of *neritoides*, in spite of the fact that it is usually found at lower levels of the shore.

To find other and even more striking examples of animals that have made, and are still making, the transition from sea to land, we must go to the tropics, for example to the West Indies, and for a particular and personal example to the island of Tobago. There, on the cliffs of the windward coast, lives another and larger periwinkle, also a tenant of the splash zone, also in the act of coming up from the sea. These arid slopes are studded with the spiny spheres of cacti and with low-growing leathery-leaved shrubs. An association of marine molluscs with cacti can hardly be common, but it is common enough here. As for the shrubs, the association is much closer, and I have often seen these periwinkles perched like roosting birds among the branches.

It is from among the crustaceans that Tobago, and other West Indian islands, provides by far the most interesting of these emergent creatures, presenting them moreover in a graduated series. All are crabs of a wide variety. In temperate latitudes we are well acquainted with crabs, but they are exclusively marine. Not one has ventured farther landwards than the intermediate levels of the tidal zone, where they shelter under stones and seaweed when the sea has ebbed. In the tropics on the other hand many different kinds have emerged, some still at the beginning of the journey, others at the extreme end. In between there are yet others at various intermediate stages. Why there should be this marked contrast between the crabs of the tropical and of the temperate zones it is very difficult to say.

To begin at the beginning of this graduated crab-series, all I had to do was to stand at the time when the tide was ebbing near the arm of a sandy bay, where great boulders, weathered out from the cliffs above, were strewn over the beach. At low tide these rocks were exposed, black and glistening, like the hides of wallowing pachyderms. No sooner were they bare than their slopes were astir

with scuttling black crabs, spider-legged and sprawling, close-pressed to the rock. Waves washed over them, but they were never dislodged, unconcernedly continued their grazing off pastures of algal slime, somewhat distracted it is true by the need to divide their attention between keeping to the landward side of the boulders, where there was less chance of the waves washing them off, and the seaward side, where the width of the boulder lay between them and the approaching intruder. When they wanted to get from one rock to another, if the distance was greater than six or eight inches, they plopped into the water and swam. If it was less, they would jump across without hesitation. Obviously they were as completely at home when exposed to the air as they were when under the water. Their gills were perpetually moist because the air was moist, and because their gill-moisture could be renewed at frequent intervals. No doubt it would be rash and unwarranted to conclude from this that as a species they had already begun to emerge from the sea. No one could be certain of that. What we can be certain of is that if the urge impelling them in that direction, whatever it may be, should get to work they are in a condition to respond, are already pre-adapted to make the migration.

After that I would leave the boulder-strewn arm of the bay and make for the curving crescent of the beach. Here almost any day, and at most times of the day, I would see a small rounded something moving at high speed at right angles to the long sweep of sand. It might have been a detached bundle of seaweed being bowled along by the unrelenting trade-wind. Second thoughts showed that this was unlikely, for this scuttling thing moved invariably from the upper part of the beach towards the surf, whereas the wind blew as invariably from the sea. It was in fact a crab, *Ocypoda*, the racing crab, in some ways the most interesting of all these compromisers, a half-way, a creature poised in nice adjustment between land and sea.

Ocypoda makes a burrow in the dry sand just beyond the reach of ordinary tides, and this is at once a residence and a ready refuge in times of emergency. If the sea invades his home he is unperturbed and quickly makes another. There is no attempt at concealing the entrance which is simply a hole about an inch in diameter, though sometimes there are two, entrance and exit. Tracks, suggesting the tyre-marks of some pygmy motor-car, converge upon it

from two or three directions. Over a wide radius from this centre he ranges by day and by night, beachcombing for anything remotely edible. Any shadow or unfamiliar movement prompts him to scuttle for his hole and dive out of sight in a twinkling. But for all his familiarity with life on dry land, he is still bound with unbreakable ties to the sea, and this in two quite distinct ways. His breathing organs are gills, which means that they must be kept moist, and it is for this reason that he makes that headlong dash for the surf, whose speed and frequency have given him his popular name. He makes these sorties many times during the twenty-four hours, and without them he would perish.

The other tie is seasonal, for the sea is the birthplace of these creatures, both with respect to their race and to each one individually. They must go to the water to spawn, and it is in the water that their life-history begins, first as an egg, then as a larva, the so-called *Megalops* stage. At that time their shape is spherical, with grooved legs fitting closely into the rounded body which is protected by a thick integument—all this so that they may more easily withstand the continual rolling back and forth imposed upon them by the surf. At an early stage they repeat as individuals that migration from sea to land which their race as a whole has undergone, beginning quite soon to dig burrows and digging them, as they develop, farther and farther inshore, until at last they are adults with burrows beyond the normal reach of the sea.

This bay on the windward side of Tobago was fringed along most of its length with coconut-palms, which stretched also far inland. Here and there, at some distance from the beach, I would come upon levels faintly swampy even in the dry season. Within them crabs of quite another kind made their burrows, true land-crabs, varying in colour from orange to pale green and sky-blue. They would sit motionless and watchful by the hour at the entrance to their burrows, diving out of sight at the least hint of danger. Their breathing organs do not need moistening, but they must take to the sea at the breeding season, when a mass migration takes place, often from a considerable distance. This is an impressive sight which I have not been privileged to see.

In other parts of the coconut-plantation drainage-ditches had been dug, flooded by the sea at high spring tides and floored at all seasons with mud. Here crabs of an entirely different kind, the

fiddlers, lived populously, three or more distinct species amicably occupying the same ditch. The name is apt, for the males possess one claw so grotesquely enlarged as to be as big as the whole of the rest of the creature. This absurd appendage, useless for feeding purposes and to all appearances an embarrassment to its owner, justifies itself solely as an emblem of masculinity, a banner to be brandished either as a warning to rivals or an invitation to a mate. The tempo and the style of the brandishing are distinct where each species is concerned, serving as signals of recognition. The fiddler-crabs have advanced farther than the others in freeing themselves from dependence on the sea. They have no need to visit it, can afford to wait for it to visit them, which it does at rare intervals. It seems doubtful indeed if even this is necessary for their comfort. Very likely the heavy rains of the wet season, together with the occasional showers of the dry, give them all the moisture they require.

To find the last link in this graduated chain of independence of salt water I went about as far inland as is possible on this small island, and remember vividly a characteristically tropical vignette seen one day not far below the summit of Pigeon Peak, the highest point on the island, rising to some 1,800 feet. The bed of a streamlet came down to a path through virgin forest. It was dry, or very nearly, with not even a trickle of moisture, at most a seepage to moisten the veined rocks. A few yards above the path the stream-bed widened, and here water had collected in a turbid pool, rimmed along its lower edge with rock-slabs and corded with roots. The upper rim was a layer of mud. Some distance beyond stood a buttressed tree, and one of the buttresses, far bigger than any of the others, swept down in a curve to embrace and confine the pool. There were holes in the mud and as I approached the scene flicked with movement, like the shutter of a camera. Living creatures of some kind had popped into the holes, all except one, and I saw that this was a land-crab of a kind quite different from those of the coastwise coconut groves. It was pressed close to the mud, flat, oval, orange red in colour, with a black patch in the centre of the carapace. Here, in this remote high place, lived crabs of a kind which spend the whole sum of their days far beyond sight or sound of the sea.

LESLIE REID

SOME LOST LITERARY LANDMARKS IN THE TEMPLE

ALTHOUGH there may be little or nothing of intrinsic interest in the actual subject of a picture of still life, if the objects represented are associated with some person, whose living presence they suggest to the beholder, his interest is at once stimulated. It may be the departed occupant of an empty yellow chair, the gentle presence of a wife or mother accustomed to beautify the home by her proficiency in arranging flowers or household knick-knacks, or even the boon companion of another day whose presence is suggested by the tankard, the tobacco jar and long pipe now resting unused on the table. In the same way buildings or places may have living associations with those who once frequented them but do so no more. It is for this reason that buildings of historic interest are preserved, and commemorative plaques are placed on houses once occupied by the great or famous. Indeed, to the imaginative mind these buildings or places are still peopled with the figures of the past. And as Elia looking out on the 'greater garden' from his chambers in Crown Office Row writes his essay on *The Old Benchers of the Inner Temple* (in which he refers to the Inner Temple Hall and Terrace, destroyed in 1941 and now replaced by new buildings), he brings to life characters long since departed who used to frequent its shady walks and terraces. The Temple, he asserts:

is the most elegant spot in the Metropolis. . . . What a cheerful, liberal look hath that portion of it, which, from three sides, over-looks the greater garden; that goodly pile

Of building strong, albeit of Paper Light
confronting, with massy contrast, the lighter, older, more fantastically shrouded one, named of Harcourt, with the cheerful Crown Office Row (place of my kindly engendure), right opposite the stately stream, which washes the garden-foot with her yet scarcely trade-polluted waters. . . .

What was the scene which Lamb contemplated as he wrote these words nearly 140 years ago? Paper Buildings, as he saw it, was the successor of Haywards Building (1609)—later called Paper Building—in which the learned Selden for some time occupied chambers on the top floor looking towards the garden. This building was

demolished in 1685, and another was erected on the same site, which in its turn was replaced by the present Nos. 1 to 4 in 1838, about a year before the date of the admission of Charles Dickens as a member of the Middle Temple. The extension to the south (No. 5) was added ten years later. The chambers of Mr Stryver (*A Tale of Two Cities*), where Sydney Carton worked, were in Paper Buildings; and it was there too that Sir John Chester (*Barnaby Rudge*) lived in rooms from which, when breakfasting in bed, he could see through the half-opened window the Temple garden and the dome of St Paul's. The historical setting of each of these novels shows that the Paper Buildings referred to was the building of 1685. Harcourt Buildings at the date of the essay was the original building of 1703. This was replaced in 1832 by the familiar building which still stood at the outbreak of the Second World War, but was completely destroyed in the disastrous raid which took place in the night of May 10/11, 1941. And now a new Harcourt Buildings has arisen on the same site together with part of the site of the former No. 7 Crown Office Row. The 'stately stream, which washes the garden foot,' lapped the old river wall, which formed the boundary as it existed before the addition to the gardens of the two Inns of the land reclaimed by the formation of the Victoria Embankment in 1865. And what of 'cheerful Crown Office Row (place of my kindly engendure)? Lamb was born in Crown Office Row 'at the east end' on February 10, 1775, and lived there for the first seven years of his life. This building, as Lamb knew it, was the successor of one comprising the Crown Office and chambers over, which had been erected in 1629 in place of the old Crown Office. It contained seven staircases and on its west side abutted on the chambers in Middle Temple Lane, from which access was gained through an arch. The whole was destroyed by enemy action in 1940, and Nos. 1 to 5 have been rebuilt as the new Crown Office Row. The site of No. 6 (which was given to the Middle Temple by the sister Inn in exchange for that of Lamb Building) is now occupied by Carpmael Building, while that of No. 7 is incorporated partly in the new Harcourt Buildings and partly in the road under the Carpmael Arch. A tablet has been placed on the front of the new Crown Office Row at the east end recording the association of Charles Lamb with the former building. Thackeray, too, occupied chambers (which no longer exist) at the top of No. 10 Crown Office

Row after his call to the Bar in 1848, and was living there when *Pendennis* was published. But the connection of Elia with the Temple was not limited to Crown Office Row and the prospect on which his infant eyes gazed from his nursery window. In 1799 he went back to live in his beloved Temple, first at No. 16 Mitre Court Buildings 'in an attic storey, for the air,' and then at No. 4 Inner Temple Lane, where his rooms at the back looked out on to 'gloomy Hare Court, with 3 trees and a pump in it.'¹ This period lasted for about 17 years in all. It was at Mitre Court Buildings that the social parties were held, one of which has been immortalized by Hazlitt in *Winterslow*. One of the guests is said to have inquired whether from the window they could not see the Temple Walk in which Chaucer used to take his exercise, but no direct answer is recorded. In fact, little is known of the connection of Chaucer with the Temple. The tradition that he was fined two shillings by the benchers of the Inner Temple 'for beating a saucy Franciscan friar in Fleet Street' rests upon a record of the infliction of a fine on one bearing the same name, which, however, was then quite a common one. There is nothing to show that the poet was a member of either Inn. The original Mitre Court Buildings were erected after the Great Fire of 1666 in place of earlier buildings known as Fuller's Rents, which had been destroyed. In 1939, Nos. 1 and 2 stood at the north end of King's Bench Walk, overlooking 'the Temple Walk.' No. 2 was destroyed during the War and rebuilt on the same site. The situation of Lamb's chambers at 'No. 16' is obscure, but it appears from Hazlitt's anecdote that they were in the building at the north end of King's Bench Walk, looking out on to the space in front which had become known as Exchequer Court. Inner Temple Lane also has associations with the burly figure of Dr Johnson, who, in 1759, 'found it necessary to retrench expenses,' gave up his house in Gough Square, and went to live at No. 1 Inner Temple Lane (the site of which is now occupied by Dr Johnson's Building), where he lived in indolent poverty until 1766, when he moved to Johnson's Court in Fleet Street.

The destruction of No. 2 Brick Court (1678) in the Second World War and the decision not to rebuild it, but to incorporate the site in

¹ Hare Court itself has survived, but the trees are now represented by two stumps, and the pump by a fire hydrant. Three young trees have, however, been planted to replace those that have been lost.

a car park means the complete disappearance of a building which has for generations been regarded as a principal Temple literary landmark with varied associations. Here, Oliver Goldsmith lived and died; and Thackeray had chambers for a short time. Here, too, Blackstone worked on his *Commentaries*, and it was in this same building that Matthew Praed breathed his last. But it is with the name of Goldsmith that No. 2 Brick Court was principally associated for nearly 200 years. His first abode in the Temple had been a very humble one with Jeffs, the butler, on the Library staircase in Garden Building (the site of which is now occupied by Nos. 1 and 2 Plowden Buildings). Here he began to write stage plays; and out of the profits from *The Good Natured Man* (1768) he was able to purchase the lease of three rooms on the second floor of No. 2 Brick Court, which he furnished elaborately. He then provided himself with a wardrobe to match, and proceeded to live in style and to give extravagant and noisy parties, to the no small annoyance of Blackstone, who occupied the chambers immediately below. It was here, too, that Goldsmith probably wrote the greater part of *The Deserted Village*. His extravagant mode of living naturally led the poet into financial difficulties and, by 1774 we find him 'in his now dreary bachelor abode in the Temple, toiling fitfully and hopelessly at a multiplicity of tasks,' including the *Animated Nature*. In the fifth volume of this work, writing about rooks, he recalls his earlier residence in Garden Building: 'I have often amused myself with observing their plan of policy from my window in the Temple that looks upon a grove where they have made a colony in the midst of the City.' That grove was on what is now Middle Temple garden. It was in this same Garden Building that William Cowper, who had been admitted as a student of the Middle Temple in 1748, was four years later assigned chambers 'situated three pairs over the Parliament Chamber', where his melancholy malady began. Grandson of a Judge and great-nephew of the first Earl Cowper, L.C., he was called in 1754, but having taken no steps to qualify himself for practice, it is doubtful whether he ever had a client, and after two years he moved into the Inner Temple. Goldsmith died at No. 2 Brick Court on April 4, 1774, and was buried on the north side of the Temple Church on April 9 'at 5 o'clock of a Saturday evening.' The exact location of the grave had already been lost when the stone with the simple inscription 'Here lies

Oliver Goldsmith' was placed in 1858, and its position can only be regarded as an approximation. This stone disappeared from view during the recent restoration of the church, but it is about to be replaced in the north churchyard. After his death, the staircase was filled with humble mourners who had been the objects of his not very discriminating charity.

I have been many a time in the chambers in the Temple which were his [writes Thackeray about half a century later] and passed up the staircase which Johnson and Burke and Reynolds trod to see their friend, their poet, their kind Goldsmith—the stair on which the poor women sat weeping bitterly when they heard that the greatest and most generous of all men was dead within the black oak door.

Opposite Brick Court, on the east side of Middle Temple Lane, stands Pump Court, the north side of which had been rebuilt in 1626. This building was one of those destroyed in the disastrous fire of 1678, which caused so much damage in the Middle Temple. In the course of the rebuilding in the same year, Pump Court assumed a new aspect. Vine Court, which had adjoined it on the east, was done away with, and its site included partly in a lengthened Pump Court and partly in a widened Cloisters. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 on the north side were again destroyed during the Second World War, and have been replaced by a new building, in which an enlarged No. 4 includes the site of the former No. 1 Elm Court. Pump Court is rich in literary associations. John Evelyn records in the *Diary* that in 1640 he and his two brothers were admitted to chambers on the fourth floor adjoining the east side of Middle Temple Lane opposite Hall Court. But this was while the building of 1626 still stood and Vine Court was still in existence; and he would hardly recognize the Pump Court of to-day.

Shadwell (1642–92) was the son of a Middle Templar and was himself admitted a member of the Inn in 1658. He became Poet Laureate in 1688, the year in which *The Squire of Alsatia* was produced. This play abounds in references to the Temple, many of which are centred on the pump, which formerly stood in the middle of Pump Court, but which has most unfortunately been allowed to disappear. The scene is laid in Alsatia, among the bullies and rogues who inhabited this notorious 'sanctuary' just outside the Temple precincts, and into whose clutches Sir William Belford's heir had fallen. Sir William (in Act IV), accompanied by tipstaff,

constable and watchmen, makes an abortive attempt to rescue him, but is himself taken prisoner and rushed into the Temple:

SIR WILL. Let me go, rogue.

SHAMWELL. Now we have you in the Temple, we'll show you the pump first.

SIR WILL. Dogs! Rogues! Villains!

SHAMWELL. To the pump, to the pump!

HACKUM. Pump him, pump him!

BELFOND SENIOR. Ah, pump him, pump him, old prig!

RABBLE. Pump, pump, to the pump. Huzza!

But the tables are soon turned, a rescue is effected, the leaders of the rabble are trapped inside the Temple gates and the porters are urged to 'see these three rogues well pumped and let 'em go through the whole course.' Having had a thorough drenching, they are turned out again into their Alsatian haunts. This scene was enacted in Pump Court as it appeared after the changes made during the rebuilding after the fire of 1678. The play also contains references to landings at the Temple Stairs, which gave direct access from the river to what was then the south end of Middle Temple Lane; to 'King's Bench Buildings' and to the Temple Walks, the appearance of which was then very different from that of to-day.

Henry Fielding was admitted a member of the Middle Temple in 1737, and after being called in 1740 was assigned chambers in Pump Court. He resided for some years at No. 4, 'three pairs up,' and was living there when *Tom Jones*, *Joseph Andrews*, and *Amelia* appeared. The Temple is the scene of his play *The Temple Beau*.

Thackeray, on his admission as a member of the Middle Temple in 1831, first settled in Hare Court. Reference has already been made to his subsequent occupancy of chambers in Crown Office Row, after his call in 1848, and later at No. 2 Brick Court. But his works abound in references to Pump Court and other places in the Temple, which were so familiar to him. Thus, his fictitious college friend 'Pump Temple' in the *Book of Snobs* derives his name from Pump Court; and it was here, too, that the Hon. Algernon Percy Deuceace (in the *Yellowplush Papers*) lived. Of his master and this lodging Yellowplush says:

'Halgernon was a barryster—that is, he lived in Pump Court, Temple: a wulgar naybrood . . . on the confines of the City, and the choasen aboad of the lawyers of this metrappolish . . . Though he

only had a third floor in Pump Court, he lived as if he had the wealth of Cresas....'

It was in Lamb Building, which Thackeray called 'Lamb Court,' that Major Pendennis found Arthur and his friend Warrington in their chambers '3-pair high.' He had entered by the gate of the Upper (i.e. Middle) Temple, and was directed 'through some dark alleys and under various melancholy archways into courts each more dismal than the other . . .', ultimately reaching Lamb Building, which faced the South Churchyard, later called Lamb Building Court. Commenting on the absence of water in chambers in this building, Thackeray writes: 'There is Pump Court and Fountain Court, with their hydraulic apparatus, but one never heard of a bENCHER disporting in the fountain; and can't think how many a COUNSEL learned in the law of old days might have benefited by the PUMP.' And now, not only has Lamb Building completely disappeared (its site being marked by an inscribed circular stone in the pavement of an enlarged south churchyard), but there is no pump in Pump Court, and the appearance of the fountain as Thackeray knew it has been changed by the removal of the iron railings with which it was still surrounded in his day and the restoration of the fountain itself and the surrounding basin to their original form; although it continues to discharge its stream of New River water, as it has done since 1681.

Thackeray through his writings, and especially *Pendennis* and *The Virginians*, has associations also with the garden of the Middle Temple, the Churchyard, and the famous Hall. It was the garden, which Thackeray in imagination peoples with Johnson, Goldsmith, and other great figures of another day, that Arthur Pendennis chose as a place for exercise and meditation after his visit to Bows at Shepherds Inn; and in the same novel he recalls that Shakespeare here laid the scene in which York and Lancaster plucked the white and red roses which became their badges in the Wars of the Roses, and quotes *The Handbook of London* as saying that 'the commonest and hardiest kind of rose has long ceased to put forth a bud in that smoky air.' But this is no longer true as roses red and roses white have bloomed again in Middle Temple Garden for some years now. Again, the Churchyard to which Pen and Clive Newcome went with Rosie to see the tombs of the knights was that of the Temple Church, in which Goldsmith was buried, at which Captain Face, in

Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*, desired Surly, the gambler, to meet him. As regards the Hall, there is first and foremost the familiar description of a dinner in chapter XXIX of *Pendennis* headed 'The Knights of the Temple'; while in *The Virginians* we are told that when it was proposed to enter George Warrington as a student at the Middle Temple, the chief point to which his mother objected was the notion that he 'should have to sit down in the Temple dinner hall, and cut at a shoulder of mutton, and drink small beer out of tin pannikins by the side of rough students who wore gowns like the parish clerk!'

The Hall of the Middle Temple has many literary associations, but is chiefly connected with the name of Edmund Plowden, whose literary and legal reputation rests primarily on the excellence of his *Reports*. He was Master Treasurer for six years (1561-7), and at the end of his term of office was appointed Proctor and Promoter for the building. The date 1570 appears in the East Window, and the date 1573 (probably the year in which the work was finished) with Plowden's name and arms is in the South Bay Window. Notwithstanding the serious damage sustained during the Second World War the building has been restored with such skill that its internal appearance has been substantially preserved. But the external appearance was altered in 1830, when in connection with the re-building of old chambers at the east end, a new feature was introduced in the form of an incongruous tower with battlements, together with a porch in front of the entrance door. And so the Hall to-day does not appear as it did on February 2, 1601, when, as recorded in the diary of John Manningham, a barrister who was present, Shakespeare's Company performed *Twelfth Night* there: 'At our feast wee had a play called Twelve Night or what you will....' This diary is published by the Camden Society, as is also the *Liber Famelicus* of Sir James Whitelock, in which will be found an account of his Reading in Middle Temple Hall in 1619. The Hall, in its original form, was also the scene of a performance on February 24, 1635, of D'Avenant's play *The Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour*, played for the entertainment of the two sons of the Elector Palatine, at which the Queen was present.

The house or lodgings set apart for the Master of the Temple in the time of the Hospitallers ultimately came into the hands of one, John Roper, who sold it to the Inns in 1685. This was the year in which Richard Hooker became Master, an office which he held for

the next six years. It was here, and not in the present Master's House or its predecessor, that he began his great work, the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Soon after Hooker's appointment, the house was enlarged, but its exact location is unknown. When, in 1608, a grant of the Temple properties was made to the two Inns, an obligation was imposed to set apart a convenient mansion and house near the Church for the Master, and this has been done ever since. The original Master's House finally disappeared in 1664, when Dr Richard Ball, who had been appointed Master in 1661, in pursuance of an arrangement with the benchers, built a new house on a site which had formerly been part of the Master's garden. This house unfortunately lasted little more than a year, as it was completely destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666, being rebuilt in 1667-8. It was in this house that William Sherlock and his son, Thomas, who succeeded him as Master of the Temple, resided. Thomas became Bishop successively of Bangor, Salisbury, and London, and was the author of *A Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus*. He was also the subject of an epigram written at a time when the offices of Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London were both vacant:

*At the Temple one day, Sherlock taking a boat,
The Waterman asked him, 'Which way will you float?'
'Which way?' says the Doctor. 'Why, fool, with the stream!
To St Paul's or to Lambeth was all one to him.*

Subject to an addition made in 1760, this Master's House remained until it was totally destroyed by fire in 1941. It has now once more been replaced by a new house on the same site.

The Master's House is situated near the Church, which consists of the 'Round,' dedicated in 1185, and the Choir, dedicated in 1240. Many changes in its appearance, both external and internal, have naturally taken place over the centuries. Thus, in 1640, the West Door was blocked up, the porch being used as a shop with chambers over; and in 1682-3 the Choir was completely severed from the Round by a remodelling of the intervening screen, and the placing of the organ loft above it. At the same time the appearance of the interior was radically changed by moving the communion table from the centre of the Choir (where it had been placed during the Commonwealth) to the east end; by the erection of the Wren-Gibbons reredos; and by a complete rearrangement of the seating.

Five years later Father Bernard Smith's organ was installed, having been chosen after a famous contest with a rival instrument by Renatus Harris. In 1694 the exterior walls on the west and south sides were refaced with fresh stone; and the external appearance was again changed in 1706 by further work on the east and south sides, as well as the building of new battlements and buttresses. At this date, too, a good deal of work was done in the way of interior 'decoration,' including an incongruous wainscotting of the pillars of the Round. In 1820 the buildings over the porch were removed, as well as a house which had been built in the eighteenth century into the ancient St Ann's chapel, adjacent to the Round on its south side. In 1840, various discordant additions to the fabric, and many tasteless monuments and decorations were removed; and in 1842 the organ chamber was taken from under the arch between the Choir and the Round, and a new one erected elsewhere. At some date prior to 1856 the Reredos had been removed and it was for some years in the Bowes museum at Barnard Castle.

The interior of the Church was almost entirely destroyed by fire during the disastrous enemy air raid on May 10, 1941, when great damage was also done to the structure of the Church itself. The formidable work of restoration has now been accomplished; and although much has been irrevocably lost, there are some things previously hidden that have been brought to light. Among the losses must be counted the organ of Father Bernard Smith (replaced by a magnificent instrument, the gift of Lord Glentanar); the whole of the woodwork including the pews with their beautifully carved bench-ends; and Hooker's memorial consisting of a bust on a bracket representing two volumes of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. On the other hand, there have been found or restored the grave of John Selden, who 'on Thursday 14th December 1654 was magnificently buried in the Temple Church'; the Reredos; all that is left of St Ann's Chapel, to which the date 1220 has been assigned; and a newly discovered building under the south aisle which is older than the Choir, and may be what remains of an ancient treasury chamber.¹ Further, in providing a new roof for the Inner Ring and

¹ See the Paper on 'Recent Discoveries at the Temple,' etc., communicated by W. H. Godfrey, Esq., C.B.E., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., the architect for the restoration, to the Society of Antiquaries in 1951 and published in *Archaeologia*, vol. xcv, pp. 123 *et seq.*

reconstructing that over the triforium, the former 'candle-snuffer' type has been replaced by a roof with battlements in the original form.

The Church has many literary associations and this short account of the changes that have taken place over the years will, it is hoped, enable the reader to gain a fair impression of its appearance at the date of the events and literary references now to be mentioned. Charles Lamb loved the Church, as may be seen by his reference to 'the grotesque Gothic heads . . . that gape and grin in stone around the inside of the old Round Church (my Church) of the Templars.' This was the Church in which he had been baptized in 1775 and in which he was accustomed to worship. Here are buried Plowden (1585), Hooker (1600), and Selden (1654). Pepys, in his *Diary* (1660–7), has several references to visits to the Temple Church: and Samuel Butler in *Hudibras* (1663–4) reminds us of the secular uses to which the Church was put in former times. John Evelyn records in his *Diary* that he was at the Temple Church on December 12, 1698, when 'it was very long before service began, staying for the Comptroller of the Inner Temple, where was to be kept a riotous and revelling Christmas, according to custom.' Thirty years earlier he had written under the date January 9, 1668, that he went to see the revels at the Middle Temple (presumably in the Hall) which he describes as an old riotous custom having relation neither to virtue nor policy. Lastly, Sir James Frazer, himself a Middle Templar, whose chambers were at No. 1 Brick Court, in his essay *Sir Roger in the Temple* (written in 1916), imagines Sir Roger de Coverley, who came to life in 1711, going to the Temple Church to hear Handel at the organ:

'Passing through the Church porch, we entered the oldest part of the ancient edifice, the original round church of the Templars. . . . The candles were already lit . . . without their glimmering flames we could still dimly discern the interlacing arches of the vaulted roof, the rows of tall clustered columns. . . .'

Charles Dickens was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1839, but while still a student he abandoned the law for literature. Some well-known scenes in his novels are laid in the Temple, and at least two of them in parts of the Middle Temple which have since been radically altered. First, we are told in *Great Expectations* (1860–1)

that Pip and Herbert Pocket had chambers 'at the top of the last house' in Garden Court. But this was before the Thames Embankment was constructed, when the tide came right up to the wall of the garden, and there was no building on the site once occupied by the Library and now by Queen Elizabeth Building. Nor had the present Nos. 1 and 2, Garden Court (1884-5) yet been built in place of the earlier building which was then demolished. Second, in *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1843), when Tom Pinch was employed in the Temple, and living at Islington with his sister, Ruth, 'there was a little plot between them that Tom should always come out of the Temple by one way; and that was past the Fountain. Coming through Fountain Court, he was first to glance down the steps leading into Garden Court' where, if Ruth had come to meet him, he would see her. It was in Fountain Court, too, that the wooing of Ruth by John Westlock took place. But when these events occurred the Fountain was still surrounded by iron railings, and Garden Court appeared as it did when there was no Thames Embankment and before the present Nos. 1 and 2 were built. Fountain Court has a further claim as a place of literary and artistic interest, for in 1821 William Blake took up his abode in two rooms on the first floor of No. 3, destined to be his last dwelling place on earth. He died there in 1827.

Such, then, are some of the literary landmarks in the Temple that have either disappeared altogether, or been so altered in appearance by the changes, both violent and peaceful, that have taken place over the years, as to be in many cases hardly recognizable. If this account has been rather rambling in character, some excuse may be found in the fact that it would have been difficult to adopt any other method more in accord with the physical characteristics of the two Inns or the genius of the 'two honourable and learned Societies of this House.'

SYDNEY G. TURNER

BOOK REVIEWS

A New History of the United States.
William Miller.

American Foreign Policy. Louis J.
Halle.

The Scottish Reformation. Dr. Gordon
Donaldson.

*The Owl and the Nightingale: From
Shakespeare to Existentialism.*
Walter Kaufmann.

Shakespeare and the Rose of Love.
John Vyvyan.

Deterrant or Defence. B. H. Liddell
Hart.

1660: The Year of Restoration. Patrick
Morrah.

Some Graver Subject. J. B. Broadbent.

*The Rebels: a Study of Post-war Insur-
rections.* Brian Crozier.

Mons. John Terraine.
Journal of a Man of Letters, 1898-1907.

Paul Léautard. Geoffrey Saintsbury.
*Tolstoy and Dostoevsky: An Essay in
Contrasts.* George Steiner.

That Great Lucifer. Margaret Irwin.

From Libyan Sands to Chad. Nigel
Heseltine.

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*A New Earth: an Experiment in
Colonialism.* Elspeth Huxley.

Cyprus and Makarios. Stanley Mayes.

The Second Empire. G. P. Gooch, C.H.
Litt.D.

The Fifth French Republic. Dorothy
Pickles.

THE publishers' note on *A New History of the United States*, by William Miller (Faber & Faber), claims that it illuminates the American past and future more brilliantly than any book of this generation. That is a large claim. Whether it is fully justified or not, certainly this book is a notable and important work. This may be because the author, as stated by Mr Frank Thistlethwaite in the preface, though a highly qualified historian, 'now pursues his craft apart from the somewhat constricting guild of the academic profession. Working in the open air, so to speak, outside the air-conditioned chambers of pedagogy, and with a knowledge of the world of affairs derived from experience in the business side of publishing, he gives an original touch to the interpretation of basic sources.' We are shown the background of Christopher Columbus and succeeding generations though, of course, the history of U.S.A. proper begins with the War of Independence and the subsequent growth of the thirteen States on the Atlantic Seaboard with the population in 1790 of just under four millions to the present fifty States with a population of nearly 180 millions! Then came the constant drive to the West, the farmers, the prospectors, the miners and the settlers, always absorbing new land but always disorganized till the railways came to knit the whole country together. After that came the

development of industry and the age of the Vanderbilts, the Rockefellers, the Goulds and, in the world of banking, towering over these 'Lords of Creation,' especially in times of financial crisis, loomed the isolated, imperious figure of John Pierpont Morgan. Mark Twain said of Jay Gould that people had *desired* money before his day but *he* taught them to fall down and worship it. We are told of the Civil War and the struggle between the slave and anti-slave States and the consequent devastation of the South. There is a good account of the First World War, which, for the first time, brought U.S.A. definitely into world politics, and a still better account of the Second World War with what must be the absolutely unique expansion of American industry to meet the war demands. Winston Churchill is quoted as saying of it that 'nothing succeeds like excess' and that is very true. Mr Miller brings the story up to the present-day with a survey of U.S.A. as it is now with the highest standard of living in the world and almost everything that is wanted in a prosperous land, but yet little real satisfaction. It is a book worth reading and re-reading.

American Foreign Policy, by Louis J. Halle (George Allen & Unwin), is a sympathetic but at times ironic appreciation of the imperfect humanity that is represented by foreign policy in general and by American foreign policy in particular. The latter has been obsessed all through with isolationism, and, as the author says, 'Through most of our American history this Utopianism has powerfully reinforced our isolationist tendencies, for we have thought of our Utopia as a promise that could be realized only if we kept our distance from the contagion of an irremediably corrupt Europe.' As a matter of fact American traditional foreign policy became obsolete in 1898 when U.S.A. took over the Philippines. It took fifty years for this to be grasped by the Americans and to adjust their thinking to it. The problem, as the author says, is in intellectual terms the conflict between the strategical considerations that generally determine foreign policy in its more durable aspects, and the emotional, partisan, or ideological passions which are aroused over particular issues that challenge it. The author, who is a former member of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, writes with experience and skill and makes a highly interesting study of the whole subject.

The Scottish Reformation, by Dr Gordon Donaldson (Cambridge University Press), is a learned and comprehensive piece of scholarship. The date of the Reformation, 1560, was really only a landmark on a road which had begun much earlier and was to continue much further. In that year there was really very little demand for violent action. As the old Church system, undermined by secularization, was crumbling, a new system had arisen alongside it, and it would not be too much to say that by the end of 1559 there were already two ecclesiastical structures in Scotland. If the bishops had in any way been worthy of their Office they might have carried on successfully; but what can one think of a system under which James IV was able to make his eleven-year-old illegitimate son Archbishop of St Andrews? The great scandal was that all the profitable appointments in the Church were more or less controlled by the Lords of the Congregation, and they were not willingly going to give up a system so profitable to them. It was the poor parish priest who suffered because there was no money left to pay him, and this really was the main cause of the Reformation to come. The Reformed Church was not actually established by law till 1567 and the bishops were not finally abolished till 1690. After 1560 Superintendents, who really were unconsecrated bishops, grew up alongside the bishops, and, somehow, the system worked for a time, and from a quarter to half of the former priests carried on as ministers in their parishes. Dr Donaldson has interesting chapters on the 'godly magistracy' and the General Assembly and also on the influence of England. Presbyteries in fact did not arise till many years after 1560, but in the end they became the dominant system. Presbytery and episcopacy are no doubt based on irreconcilable principles—ordination and superintendence by a corporate body on the one hand and by an individual on the other—but if a reconciliation between the two can be achieved it was achieved in seventeenth-century Scotland. In this lies a lesson for the present negotiations between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland for mutual recognition. We think that Dr Donaldson's work will remain the standard one on the subject for a long time to come.

The Owl and the Nightingale: From Shakespeare to Existentialism, by Walter Kaufmann (Faber), is the 'result of ten years' study of some of the great minds in Western philosophy, religion, and literature.'

It offers critical interpretations of ten of these: Shakespeare, Goethe, Hegel, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Rilke, Jaspers, Heidegger, Freud, and Toynbee. It also analyses the background of Existentialism. Professor Kaufmann is a pithy and profound assessor with a range and perspective that, finally, projects the image of our own time and thought in a focus that must be one of the most important of our day. He is iconoclastic of modern Gods and gives his reasons with an authority that all of us who have recognized that fatal contemporary aptitude to stop short of all that refutes our prejudices will applaud. His aphoristic first chapter sets a standard that is consistently exciting. He trounces modern dogmatists in splendid style. 'It is not uncommon for modern writers to tell themselves and others that our generation is unique in having lost the protection of a firm religious faith, as if Sokrates and Shakespeare had been reared with blinders. Some turn such men as these into honorary Christians.' 'It is not the public that is at fault to-day but the excess of pretenders.' The book is not easy reading even though Professor Kaufmann is singularly clear and lucid. It demands attention and concentration. But it is infinitely rewarding, not only for those who are glad to have their thought crystallized and expounded in a way they could not do themselves but for those of more orthodox views who, while finding many of the rational conclusions rather shocking, will nevertheless recognize the truth in his objectivity. 'I agree with Paul that love is more important than faith and hope, but so are honesty, integrity, and moral courage. The world needs less faith and more love and nobility.' Starting from that text Professor Kaufmann gives no quarter to a materialistic world nor to an intelligentsia that only explores the confines of its own orthodoxy.

After Professor Kaufmann's mature appreciation of the magnitude and classic stature of Shakespeare's mind, John Vyvyan's second volume of his exploration into the ethos of Shakespeare, *Shakespeare and the Rose of Love* (Chatto and Windus), seems trivial. He holds that Shakespeare was consciously and profoundly Christian, a point of view brilliantly refuted by Kaufmann. Mr. Vyvyan seems determined to turn Shakespeare into the academic scholar, as if he is unable to swallow the fact that genius is its own educator and more often than not draws of its own self for nourishment. He assumes for reasons that seem a little ridiculous that

Shakespeare, now being world renowned, could only have graduated under the most respectable teachers. His assumptions are rather trying since they arise solely out of his attempt to justify his proposition that Shakespeare was primarily a literateur. His book is not one of the contributive books. But it does do one valuable thing. It underlines the immense importance of the rational approach in human terms of such men as Professor Kaufmann who see in Shakespeare the peak of the human spirit grappling in an uncommitted way with the problems and conclusions of their own humanity and not, in Mr Vyvyan's quaint words, using 'the heroine as a love symbol . . . and when we examine his background—we might say, his literary foundations—we find there is nothing to surprise us in his use of this and other allegorical figures.' Far too much of the book is supposititious trivia and a tacit denial of a flesh and blood Shakespeare.

Deterrent or Defence, by B. H. Liddell Hart (Stevens & Sons Ltd.), contains the considered views of this eminent military analyst. He examines the strategic and technical position of the West in the nuclear age. He writes: 'The H-bomb makes nonsense of the aim of pursuing "victory" in a "total war." Both terms, and the concepts they express, now become totally absurd. Anyone who dreams or talks of "winning the war," if war should come, is worse than absurd—a menace to his country and to all humanity.' He deals with problems such as the small atomic weapons in war: is gas a better alternative: could conventional forces suffice: the ratio of forces to space and amphibious flexibility and forces. With regard to the last named he says: 'Amphibious flexibility is the greatest strategic asset that a sea-based power possesses. It creates a distraction to a continental enemy's concentration that is most advantageously disproportionate to the resources employed.' The whole book is, perhaps, inevitably depressing because it seems that the Russian forces are better trained, better organized, better supplied, and more ample than anything that the West can provide; and N.A.T.O. is sadly deficient in what is considered necessary provision for defence: also it is not really unified. There are interesting chapters on the possible defence of Central Europe, new tactics and organization, tanks and their future and the development of night action, which is specifically important. The author has the

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has the

chronic inclination to blame our General Staff as always planning from experience in the past rather than looking to the future. We imagine that most military critics take this point of view whether really justified or not. At any rate, whether the reader feels that Captain Liddell Hart really goes too far in his depression or not, his views are useful and well worth studying.

1660: The Year of Restoration, by Patrick Morrah (Chatto & Windus), makes excellent reading. The author has successfully planned the work in diary form with daily entries up to May 29—when Charles II returned to London—and thereafter at longer intervals, compiled from contemporary sources and subsequent histories, and showing the events and feelings of the time, and the rising tide of Monarchy which the discredited 'Rump' of the Long Parliament in vain tried to suppress. All depended on General Monk, who returned to London with his well-disciplined Army nominally at the service of the Parliament, which he despised and disliked, but really a Monarchist at heart, as his wife was openly. He was far too cautious to declare himself until he was sure that the tide was at full flood and then he came out in the open and Parliament was compelled to recall the anti-Republican members who had been purged. That meant the end of that Parliament and the Summoning of the Convention which almost unanimously brought back Charles. The daily items of news really are almost as exciting as stop-press items in evening papers now. There are serious parts, but there is also a lighter element in appropriate extracts from Pepys. Finally, there is an account of the trial of the Regicides and the frantic attempts of many other Republicans to explain that their actions in the Great Rebellion, and after, really meant no disrespect to Charles I, whom they had beheaded! This is an excellent record of a very historic year.

'Our first disobedience is to our mother. It is later in the Freudian-Jungian myth that, stirred up with envy and revenge, we try to usurp our father's place and are exiled into the unfamiliar world. The twentieth-century reader must face the discrepancy between his own domestic mythology and Milton's cosmic one because *Paradise Lost* is at once more personal than any other epic, yet its characters are elementally related to one another, its scenes more

archetypal.' So J. B. Broadbent begins his scholarly, historical, and literary essay on *Paradise Lost*, *Some Graver Subject* (Chatto and Windus). His introduction is invaluable in analysing Milton's motivation, in pin-pointing his personal struggle as a man 'of a quite unmystical mind and a fully sensual heart' with an enforced mystique of chastity as one of the strongest operative factors that evolved into his cosmographical epic. Milton's age presented to him—and to all serious-minded people—a dichotomy of past and present, between Puritan religion and Renaissance gusto. He was a man to be shocked by the paradox that hitherto the culture of Christianity had been largely secular and much of it Pagan. He believed that literature ought to celebrate Christian glory. The subtle shift of basic assumptions brought about by the Reformation offered him the material: the Catholic scheme of Salvation, the drama of the Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection was to be replaced by the Protestant scheme of individual salvation—a shift of emphasis from the crucified and risen Christ to the fallen and regenerate Adam. Mr Broadbent's analysis of Milton's gradual movement towards the final conception and execution of his epic, and his analysis of the epic itself, is to be recommended for the understanding of this massive Protestant bulwark.

The Rebels: a Study of Post-War Insurrections, by Brian Crozier (Chatto & Windus), contains much interesting and important information and useful conclusions based on it. The author first deals with the Anatomy of Rebellion of which he says: 'Frustration is the one element common to all rebels, whatever their aims, political ideas, or social backgrounds. It does not matter whether the rebel is a highly intelligent Communist like Vo Nguyen Giap of Vietnam, a primitive politician like Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, a sober banker like Sjafruddin Prawiranegara of Indonesia, or a non-commissioned officer of limited attainments like Belkacem Krim: frustration unites them in a brotherhood of rebellion.' After that comes some account of rebellion against French rule, against British rule and, even, as in Hungary, against Communist rule, though in country after country it is made only too obvious that, beside frustration, a prominent cause of rebellion is Communist infiltration. Then the author deals with outside help for rebels, such as Cairo and the F.L.N., Athens and Eoka, and Moscow and the Asians. After that

comes an interesting study of Terrorism, of what it can do and what it cannot; and then comes a study of Repression, whether by violence as the Communists do or by more peaceful ways. Finally, there is a consideration of what the author calls 'The Alternative Leader Principle' by which, so to speak, a counter-rebel can be put up against the original rebel. It is, of course, easy with the wisdom of hindsight to see how much better Governments might have acted; but that is a dangerous process as, however obvious the better course may seem now, it was at the time, owing to circumstances and the men in charge of affairs, impossible. It must be realized though the undue delaying of concessions engenders political frustration and creates the conditions of rebellion, the refusal to carry concessions to their logical conclusion invites insurrection. The author writes with special authority on the Far East as he has had much personal experience there; but the whole book is very well worth study.

For all who fought in the early stages of the First World War, and for those who remember that anxious time, the names of Mons and the subsequent Le Cateau have a noble, if tragic, significance. Those famous days at the end of August and the beginning of September were indeed an epic both in the fighting at Mons and in the splendid stand of II Corps under Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien at Le Cateau, which held up the German attack and influenced the whole campaign. Mr John Terraine in his book *Mons* (B. T. Batsford Ltd.) tells the story again day by day and even hour by hour. Incidentally, there is an interesting revaluation of reputations. Sir John French (as he was then) comes out badly because of his lack of decision and full grasp of the situation, his defeatist spirit and his entire lack of co-operation with the French on his right. On the other hand, Smith-Dorrien comes out very well indeed, and so does Sir William Robertson for his supply arrangements under the greatest difficulties. On the French side, Marshal Joffre comes out very well and shows that he kept his head cool in crisis after crisis and calmly planned the renewed offensive when the proper time came, and carried it out. General Franchet d'Esperey also comes out well. General Lanrezac comes out worst of any and he went as near causing disaster as anyone could. To turn to Sir John French again: what are we to think of a man who, in his first

dispatch, wrote of Smith-Dorrien: 'I say without hesitation that the saving of the left wing of the army under my command on the morning of 26th August could never have been accomplished unless a commander of rare and unusual coolness, intrepidity, and determination had been present to personally conduct the operation.' Yet when, after the war, he wrote his book, he turned on Smith-Dorrien and blamed him for what were really his (French's) errors. Mr Terraine has studied the campaign deeply and intensively and has written a very good account of it.

Journals, those intimate soul-searchings of introspective literary minds, are phenomena much more common in France than in England. A razor-edged appreciation of experience, the acceptance of the idea that life coming in through the crystal of one man's focus is thrown back with its true colours, demands a certain type of devoted egocentricity that is often more valuable than might at first be imagined. *Journal of a Man of Letters, 1898-1907. Paul Léautard*, translated by Geoffrey Saintsbury (Chatto and Windus), is much more individual than most in the fact that Léautard was an eccentric in literature. He had no literary reputation of any account until, at the age of seventy-eight, a series of outspoken broadcast conversations turned him into a literary celebrity. His journals are wholly individualistic, acid, outspoken, paying no deference to reputation, truthful—as far as he felt—to a fascinating degree. The Paris he pictures was the Paris of Valéry, Apollinaire, Marie Laurencin, and this violent, detailed, ejaculatory, crusty, and utterly resilient if egotistical incidental picture of it is most stimulating. It is a rare saga of the attic, the salon and the cellar of the French literary life which for intrigue, espionage, and pitched battles waged on intellectual campaigns has no counterpart except in some of the bitter religious wars. Léautard was in it as a fish is in the water, lithe, glutinous, savage, and, as often as not, lurking in the mud.

Tolstoy and Dostoevsky: An Essay in Contrasts, by George Steiner (Faber), is a volume of evaluation. Mr Steiner sees the prime function of the critic as the ability to distinguish the good from the best, and goes on to write an invaluable essay on the European novel from the premise that it is the development of the epic for a modern environment. 'In its natural mode an epic poem

addresses itself to a rather close-knit group of listeners . . . but a novel speaks to an individual reader in the anarchy of private life.' While giving England and France their due he sees Russia and America as the far-flung arms of the nebula of European fiction which 'appear to gather something of their fierce intensity from the outer darkness, from the decayed matter of folk-lore, melodrama and religious life.' His book is most fertile in ideas and summation. Taking up his viewpoint from the American side, he equates the dilemma of the pressure of realism as equal in both countries; and the manner of their separate escape from it is really the subject of his book. In Tolstoy and Dostoevsky he sees two opposing giants, heroic in their contrariety. 'Tolstoy, the mind intoxicated with reason and fact; Dostoevsky, the contemnor of rationalism and lover of paradox.' 'Tolstoy, who saw the existence of man historically and in the stream of time; Dostoevsky, who saw them contemporaneously and in the vital stasis of the dramatic moment.' The doctrinaire acceptance of Tolstoy in the Communist Pantheon and the rejection of Dostoevsky also inspires Mr Steiner with some acute comment and biting analysis.

That Great Lucifer, by Margaret Irwin (Chatto & Windus), is a portrait of Sir Walter Ralegh, not a comprehensive biography, and it is a portrait very skilfully and dramatically drawn. Undoubtedly he was a remarkable man—dreamer, poet, adventurer, courtier; ambitious, fascinating when he wished to be, but too forceful not to make enemies. He must often have regretted being tied to Elizabeth's apron strings when he wished to be out on adventure. The author says: 'She had been an exciting companion; an exciting mistress; fickle, cruel, capricious, and abominably jealous. But she had also been so bewitched by him as to give him great power and riches; so admiring of him as to listen to him as her Oracle; so possessively fond of him as to keep him at her side away from the voyages that he had longed to undertake.' With James I, who hated him from the beginning, he never had a chance. The accounts of his two trials are told in a most dramatic way and make excellent reading, and Ralegh comes very well out of them. On the other hand, Coke's conduct as prosecutor has been condemned by our Supreme Court of Judicature as 'unsurpassed in a court of Justice for downright ruffianism—unequalled even in the French Revolutionary

Trials at their worst.' It may strike many readers that in the portrait of the age which Miss Irwin gives there is one virtue which seems to be almost entirely lacking, and that is altruism. It is a case all through of everyone for himself (or herself) and the devil take the hindmost. But among all the perhaps eminent but really unpleasant characters in this book nothing can exceed James I himself for his unmitigated venom, spite, and cowardice. What can one think of a King who commissioned one of his most famous subjects as Admiral to lead an expedition to South America and then give away all the secret plans to the Spaniards in order that Raleigh might be sure of being captured?

From Libyan Sands to Chad, by Nigel Heseltine (Museum Press), is an account of the author's third journey across the Sahara, from the coast of Libya to Fort Lamy, near Lake Chad, 2,000 miles in all. Beginning in a jeep, and then, when that collapsed, as a passenger in a convoy; then for a long time on a camel until, finally, he managed to join up with another convoy for the last stage. He does not make very clear what his object of the journey was apart from delight in travelling and, apparently, complete indifference to extreme discomfort, exhaustion, and risk. He had plenty of these, and he had some interest in primitive paintings found on rocks in out-of-the-way places. Tibesti, Ennedi, and Djourab mean nothing to the ordinary reader, but they mean a great deal to the Saharan traveller, especially the last which he said was far worse than anything he had come across before in 15,000 miles of Sahara tracks. He writes: 'Those who have never been there, marvel that you can bear to travel for weeks in what they imagine to be a monotony, but the Sahara changes its face and its colour every twenty miles or so,' and certainly Mr Heseltine found many changes. There are some interesting accounts of the isolated French military posts in the Sahara as well as of the inhabitants in the various parts that are habitable, if only barely so. It takes special gifts to enjoy travel such as this and most people will prefer to read about it in their armchairs; but they can be grateful to Mr Heseltine for a really interesting and instructive account of a remarkable journey.

The Europa Year Book 1960 (Europa Publications Ltd.) fully maintains the high standard of its predecessors, with the difference

that so much has to be included that the work now comes out in two volumes. Vol. I, now under notice, includes Europe, including the U.S.S.R. and Turkey, and runs to well over 1,200 quarto double column pages packed with information. It is a comprehensive survey and directory of countries and international organizations. There are 36 countries and a like number of major European organizations, but that is certainly not the limit of range because not only N.A.T.O. and Benelux are included but also Higher Institutes of Agriculture and Schools of Art in Albania, not only the Académie Française in Paris but museums in Iceland or historical societies in Liechtenstein. There are 150 pages on Great Britain and 90 on Germany. Such a compendium of useful information, clearly presented, surely cannot be found anywhere else. In fact it is a work of outstanding value and interest.

A New Earth: an Experiment in Colonialism, by Elspeth Huxley (Chatto & Windus), is of great value to anyone interested in Kenya or East Africa. It shows how, while politicians in Nairobi apply their sense of urgency to constitutions, votes, boycotts, strikes, and meetings, and other troubles, a really wonderful work is being done in the provinces by British agriculturalists, engineers, and other settlers. In many cases it is a case of trying to turn an indolent, cattle-loving, illiterate, easy-going, and suspicious tribesman into an industrious, steady-going, intelligent, and meticulous cultivator—all in a few years. In some cases, as the author points out, the plain fact is that the natives do not want motor-cars, or beds, or kitchen sinks or washing machines: they just want cattle, which they have. But now that the free land is more or less absorbed it is not possible for them when they have impoverished one tract of country just to move on to new ground. They must get away from the old, sad, one-way progression of over-cultivation, over-stocking, soil deterioration, loss of fertility, poverty, and discontent. Of course, many of the natives show great keenness and intelligence and want to learn, and the future lies in encouraging them. They realize what advantages modern science can give and, above all, what education can do though, alas, in too many cases with education for the younger generation comes the poison of politics. Incidentally, after all the fuss that is made about the white settler having all the best and most fertile ground, it is interesting to be

told that, in actual fact, they only own one-fifth and the natives four-fifths. Mrs Huxley's work is in the nature of a most readable survey taking district by district and showing all that is being done.

Cyprus and Makarios, by Stanley Mayes (Putnam), tells in a clear and convincing way the story of the degradation of what should be high Christian leadership down to low political manœuvring and violence. It is almost sad to have to attach the word 'Archbishop' to the name 'Makarios.' Mr Mayes deals with him and his dealings with E.O.K.A., the Communists, the Turks, the Greek Government, the United Nations, N.A.T.O., the British and his own people. There is no doubt that he not only condoned but planned and organized terrorism and bloodshed to suit his own ambitions. As the author says: 'Here is a man, the autocratic head of an ancient Church, who has devoted all its spiritual and material resources, not to the preservation of a rich Byzantine heritage or the strengthening of the Greek Orthodox faith, but to a narrow political end.' In many ways the Church diverted social activity away from its normal course into the narrow millrace of E.O.K.A. agitation. Makarios himself said in a sermon that he would accept help from any hand, even a dirty one, and he did. Mr Mayes does not conceal the mistakes that our Government have made from time to time; but in dealing with such a man as Makarios it must be difficult to conduct negotiations as well as might be desired. All interested in Cyprus should read this enlightening book.

In *The Second Empire* (Longmans) Dr Gooch has painted portraits of outstanding personalities in the reign of the Mock Napoleon. The vivid and arresting colours add freshness to a period already well documented. With the aid of adventurers, Persigny, 'pioneer of Fascism,' and St Arnaud, an unblushing liar, a nephew of Bonaparte, on December 2, 1851, inaugurated a dictatorship that endured till a greater Waterloo swept the Bonapartes from France. He claimed to stand for order, religion, welfare—above all peace. Order there was for mocked Marx, Cavalry, Infantry, Artillery replaced Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité. Religion became a state department. When bishops piled incense on the altar of the new St Louis, chosen instrument of God, even the Emperor remarked their useful flattery disgusted him. Welfare indeed improved during this

industrial age, when Haussmann transformed Paris into Europe's finest city. But a Napoleon could not give peace. Yet he was a kindly man appalled at contact with war. At the sight of the Solferino slaughter he rushed peace. When war came he met generals who toasted 'A Berlin' with 'Pray rather God protect Paris.' Along this processional tableau there pass: Veuillot, 'to whom Christianity was a flaming sword not a gospel of love'; Princess Mathilde, Notre Dame des Arts in whose salon reigned Sainte-Beuve, prince of critics; Girardin, 'Napoleon of the Press', Madame Adam, la Grande Française who brought out Gambetta; Victor Hugo, the conscience of France; George Sand, Saint of Berri; Flaubert, who bewailed the right of numbers over the supremacy of the mind. The most loved remains Duruy, France's greatest educational reformer, one of her few scholar statesmen. Dr Gooch has again shown that scholarship need not be dull nor integrity austere. Every sentence epitomizes wide reading and wiser learning. And his flowing prose adds an abiding grace.

In *The Fifth French Republic* (Methuen) Dorothy Pickles critically describes France's latest constitution. The circumstances of its drafting explain its objectives. Two dramas dominated the minds of Debré and de Gaulle, its framers. In 1940 a timorous parliament voted powers to Pétain while President Lebrun proved ineffective. De Gaulle recalled Lebrun's regrets at not possessing larger authority. That sombre memory coloured de Gaulle's concept of a President's functions, to be the nation's arbiter, above the accidents of party political strife. In 1958 Pflimlin addressed his ministers: 'The U.S.A. consul has warned us that an air operation is being prepared against the Metropole. We cannot rely on the army or the police.' Only twelve years after parliamentary restoration, parliament had become a mockery. The new constitution attempts a compromise between the claims of César and Demos. Moreover, it is open, as were previous constitutions, to growth. The Constitution of 1875 was framed to prepare the return of Monarchy. It founded the most durable of Republics. It arranged for a strong Head of State. The majority of presidents of the Third Republic were mediocre. Similarly the Constitution of 1946 excluded the use of *décrets-lois*. They were the mainstay of the Fourth Republic. Its rapporteur affirmed that France would enjoy ministerial stability.

There were twenty-five ministries during the short Fourth Republic. For temperament and traditions mould constitutions to national political habits. So France will shape the Debré-de Gaulle constitution, which was imposed by circumstances rather than an attempt to bridle parliamentary life. Already revision is modifying the Constitution on the French Community. Beginning with Mali and Madagascar, emerging states wish to remain within, while the Constitution stated that on becoming independent they were to withdraw from the Community. Yet the Fifth Republic remains a useful analysis of this further assay in constitution making. Dorothy Pickles' writing is clear and her references wide.

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